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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

ADAPTATION TO MARGINAL STATUS:
THE CASE OF GAY MALES

by

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A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1976

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled ADAPTATION TO MARGINAL STATUS: THE CASE OF GAY MALES submitted by NEIL ERIC LINDQUIST in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

The present study was designed to test hypotheses drawn from the literature on marginality as they relate to gay people and to explore the social situation of gay males in a medium-sized Canadian city (Edmonton, Alberta). The use of a marginal man perspective as an aid to understanding gay minorities reflects both an attempt to extend the applicability of the perspective and a desire to approach the study of gay people from frameworks similar to those employed when looking at other minorities. A central concern of the research was an investigation of the concomitants of differential patterns of involvement with gay and non-gay (conventional) social worlds.

Data was gathered from 142 gay males by means of a self-administered questionnaire and through observational work within the Edmonton gay community. Primary forms of data analysis employed were cross-tabulations and analysis of variance.

Results of the data analysis suggest that the appearance of marginal personality characteristics (MPC) among gay males follows similar patterns as are found among members of other minority groups, namely, as a consequence of individuals' identification with conventional social structures and of their perception of barriers to full acceptance within the majority society.

An examination of the role of social involvement in relation to the development of MPC and other measures of personal and social adjustment suggests that participation with both gay and non-gay others is positively associated with increased adjustment. This association is more consistent and powerful in the case of contact with conventional others. Most adjusted were those individuals who while highly involved with gay peers maintain strong to moderate ties with the non-gay world.

High degrees of participation within the gay community, to the extent they interferewith conventional involvements,would appear associated with lessened personal and social adjustment.

While both forms of social participation are related to increased personal well-being the manner of association differs. Involvement with gay others provides individuals with an increased acceptance of being gay and reduces unrealistic fears associated with handling gay identities. Conventional involvements are more directly related to adjustment through their ability to satisfy individual needs presently unmeetable within an institutionally incomplete gay community.

In the sample under study signs of psychological marginality were minimal, with most individuals coping well with their situation. The major effects of life in a marginal situation are most visible at the level of overt attitudes and behaviors as opposed to being manifest in intra-psychic turmoil. These responses reflect in part a tendency for respondents to seek reassurance of their social acceptability through the presentation and elaboration of conventional facades and attitudes.

While marginal man theory is seen as having been of value in providing a framework from which to view the present situation of gay minorities it is felt that future research should be directed less to psychological outcomes and should focus more strongly upon the coping responses engaged in by individuals as they successfully adjust to marginal situations. Methodologically it is felt that such research should rely, at least in the initial stages, more upon in-depth exploration of life histories, rather than upon survey research, the former approach being more able to provide insight into the temporal sequences involved in building gay identities and of the costs involved in handling and maintaining gay careers.

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While the acknowledgement section of theses and dissertations tends to resemble Academy Award acceptance speeches the cliched format should not detract from the sincere feelings of appreciation contained therein.

I would like to thank the members of my committee for their help and interest, and John Fox for his assistance and encouragement in the planning stages of the dissertation. Special thanks are due to Gordon Hirabayashi for his continued patience and support.

While it is not possible, due both to numbers and to the prevailing social climate, to name those members of the Edmonton gay community whose participation made this work possible, my thanks to everyone, with a special word of gratitude to Joe. I hope this dissertation captures, if not most, at least some of the concerns shared by all.

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CHAPTER I

ADAPTATIONS TO A MARGINAL SITUATION

The development of this dissertation has been guided by the belief that the advancement of knowledge will come only with our ability to see relationships where none were visible before and through our capacity to link disparate phenomena with common explanatory schemata. In so doing we not only add to our knowledge of the phenomenon under study, but are presented with an opportunity to clarify and expand our explanatory constructs.

On a general level this study is concerned with the social situation and life adjustments of all those who do not fit easily into their assigned slots in modern-day Canadian society, that is, with those individuals who, for reasons of age, social disability, physical or mental variation, ethnic origin or other cause are excluded to some degree from full-fledged participation in the life of the society, irrespective of their potential talents or actual achievements. While the specific group considered here is gay males, it is hoped that an examination of their situation will be of value, not only to them, but to other similarly oppressed aggregates.

This study had been undertaken with the assumption that the difficulties experienced by gay people reflect their position as an oppressed minority in Canadian society, and with the belief that the oppression of any group creates a climate which makes more possible the suppression of other groups which do not conform, in varying degrees, to the dominant mores and ideology. This implies, in part, that if we are to work for a more free society we must recognize that the fate of any one group is inexporably linked with the fortune of all others. This idea has been expressed by David Suzuki (1971) when he suggested that:

> the strength of our racial group does not derive from our numbers or political power, but from a recognition that all groups categorized by race or religion are placed under the same pressures. In order to work towards a society in which each individual is valued for his own worth, we must identify with all other potentially oppressed groups. Anti-semitism, segregation, squalid Indian reserves and ghettoes are conditions we must fight against with other groups. Many of us breathe a sigh of relief as "other" groups are discriminated against...How stupid to think that bigotry aimed at Blacks or Jews is any different from prejudice directed at us. The merest puff of a whisper can turn anti-semitism to a fear of the yellow peril.

While speaking of ethnic collectivities, his remarks are applicable to all groups which are devalued on the basis of arbritary criteria, be these criteria economic, ethnic, chronological, sexual, or other 'cause'. Until all are free none are truly safe.

FOCUS OF THE DISSERTATION

Specifically this research is concerned with examining the utility of marginal man theory as an explanatory construct for the understanding of behavioral and attitudinal variations among gay males. Marginal man theory, as derived from the work of Park (1928) and Stonequist (1937) suggests that when individuals are placed in a position between two contradictory or inconsistent cultures or social structures, they will tend to react by developing a particular pattern of personality traits. Much of the work in this area since that time has been devoted to attempts to trace the linkages between the social position of the group and the appearance of psychological maladjustment among its members. This will form a major part of the study which follows.

In order to accomplish this goal, the marginal situation of gay males will be explored and specific hypotheses will be drawn from the literature for testing.

The second focus of the dissertation lies in the specific group under study. It is hoped that the application of the theoretical perspective implied by ideas of the marginal man to the situation facing gay people will serve to highlight aspects of the behavioral and attitudinal adaptations of gay males that have been overlooked or slighted in past research, and thus, help to increase our knowledge one of Canada's largest minorities. This is of importance for two reasons. First, the study of homosexuality has usually been approached from different perspectives, perspectives which focus on difficulties and which seek to locate these difficulties within individuals rather than within the particular context of social relationships in which gay people function. The decreasing productivity, some might say irrelevance of traditional views, as well as their increasing unacceptability to growing numbers of gay people suggests the necessity for alternative conceptualizations. Secondly, while there has been a great increase in the amount of attention being paid to homosexuality in recent years, only a miniscule proportion of this research has involved an examination of Canadian populations. Thus, our knowledge of homosexuality in Canada is largely based upon generalization from foreign, usually American, data sources. While cross-cultural similarities undoubtedly exist, the extent of these similarities can only be assessed through empirical research,[1] and, thus, there exists a need for a direct examination of the Canadian situation.

This dissertation is concerned, therefore, with two distinct but related areas of interest. First, an examination of the psychological effects of occupancy of a marginal situation - specifically being gay in present day Canada. This would include an examination of factors which contribute to psychological dis-ease among members of marginal aggregates as well as an exploration of factors which might mitigate or reduce somewhat the potential strains of living in such circumstances. Second, an examination of the more salient features of the social situation facing gay people in our society. This work is largely exploratory in nature and is concerned less with testing specific hypotheses than with the identification of problematic features, and their consequences, of the marginal situation facing gay people at present.

A note on terminology: First, for the purpose of this study the term homosexual refers to "individuals who participate in a special community of understanding wherein members of one's own sex are defined as the most desirable sexual objects" (Goffman, 1963:43). Although a number of definitions exist, Goffman's description most closely approaches the concerns of this study in its emphasis on individuals who have recognized that their primary socio-sexual attachment lies with members of their own sex, that is, individuals who are aware of their dual status affiliations, while not making unnecessary assumptions concerning either the social or sexual behavior displayed by those individuals.[2] Second, while the terms gay or homosexual may be used interchangeably gay is preferable, in part because it is the choice of those who belong to the category in question. Furthermore, it does not carry with it the clinical and psychiatric (as well as sexual) overtones associated with the alternative - connotations which this study seeks to avoid.[3]

RESEARCH ON HOMOSEXUALITY: SOME DIFFICULTIES

We have chosen to approach the topic of homosexuality from the perspective of marginal man theory. Such a decision may be seen as advantageous both for marginal man research and for the study of homosexuality. To the extent that marginality refers to a significant area of sociological concern the extension of the concept to include phenomena, which, while fitting the definition, are not of the more conventional variety usually investigated, would seem to present an opportunity for further tests of the theory, particularly as it relates to the development of marginal personality characteristics (MPC) in individual members of the marginal aggregate. Additionally the examination of a non-usual marginal situation may help to shed insight on those consequences of marginal situations which derive from the essence of marginality itself and those which are specific to distinctive types of marginal situations. The eventual utilization of a variety of groups to explore the concept of marginality may lead to insights into aspects of the theory which have been slighted or overlooked; for example, the consideration of gay people as a marginal group suggests that greater attention should be paid to the individual's responses to the marginal situation in both an attitudinal and behavioral sense, in attempting to assess the effects of that situation.

The major value to the use of a marginal man perspective, however, would seem to lie in the possible benefits which may accrue to our understanding of homosexuality. While recent years have witnessed an upsurge in the professional attention paid to the topic of homosexuality[4] there has been some suggestion (Sagarin, 1973) that quality has not kept pace with quantity. Why this is so is unclear; however, a review of the literature does point to certain factors which may have contributed to such a state of affairs.

A major factor retarding research has been an excessive concern with polemical and ideological issues. As Churchill (1967) has stated our culture contains a strong eroto-phobic strain which, while applicable to all sexual acts, is especially evident in regard to sexual activity of a homo-erotic nature, and which has made it difficult to approach such activity with high degrees of objectivity and value neutrality. A desire to score ideological points against one's opponents - to prove that gay is good or gay is bad - has clouded assessments of more scientifically answerable types of questions in a number of areas; for example, discussions of whether homosexuality really exists, an examination of the concepts of sickness and cure, and in a failure to separate questions of a scientific nature from issues of social injustice.[5]

Similarly, Simon and Gagnon (1967) identified two additional defects which they felt characterized research on homosexuality at that time, namely, that such research "is ruled by a simplistic and homogeneous view of the psychological and social contents of the category 'homosexual'" and that it is "nearly exclusively interested in the most difficult and least rewarding of all questions, that of etiology." It would be desirable to say the ensuing years have rendered their assessment invalid. Undoubtedly changes have occurred. The growth of gay liberation as a social movement has stimulated sociological interest in gay people and their adjustment to their social milieu. However, while new concerns have been introduced older ones have persisted and Simon and Gagnon's statements still apply. Research on homosexuality is still grounded in the assumption that homosexuals represent a distinct category of persons qualitatively different from heterosexuals, and furthermore, that this qualitative difference rests upon something distinctive within the individual. Epstein (quoted in Humphreys, 1972:40) has written:

> They are different from the rest of us. Homosexuals are different, moreover, in a way that cuts deeper than other kinds of human differences - religious, class, racial - in a way that is, somehow, more fundamental. Cursed without clear cause, afflicted without apparent cure, they are an affront to our rationality, living evidence of our despair of ever finding a sensible, an explainable, design to the world.

It is this assumption - an assumption of inexplicable difference, usually negative, and presumably innate - which is the foundation upon which most research on homosexuality, whether ideologically pro or con, rests.

The direct or indirect influence of this attitude can be seen in a number of areas. The concern with polemical and ideological issues, for example, can be directly related to an assumption of differences. Rather than attempting to assess graduated variations among people we have dichotomized the world into antithetical categories, gay and straight, and have engaged in attempts to evaluate their respective legitimacy. By uncritically assuming that something called homosexuality and people called homosexuals exist we have not given sufficient attention to the alternative view that these may be only convenient categories used to divide reality into manageable units. As descriptions of different realities they may be of lesser significance than we have imagined.[6]

The tendency to equate different erotic activities with the essential nature of a person also underlies both a simplistic and homogeneous view of the category homosexual as well as the excessive preoccupation with etiology. Given unique differences between heterosexuals and homosexuals one can afford, more easily, to ignore variations within the homosexual sub-set of the population (for these variations are of undoubtedly lesser significance than the major variation, however defined, which differentiates the 'homosexual' from the'normal'). This has contributed to an unfortunate tendency for some researchers to generalize from inadequate samples to the population as a whole. While homosexuality may or may not be a master status for all gay people it would appear to be one for many researchers.

In sociologically-oriented writings the emphasis on the master status is reflected in a tendency to use homosexuality as the key explanatory variable in accounts of behavior patterns rather than available alternatives. For example the interactional patterns of male homosexuals are attributed to or discussed in terms of a gay subculture rather than in age-specific or class-related terms. It may well be that the significant aspects of gay subcultures are shaped more by these factors than by the erotic activity itself. Similarly, in a psychiatrically oriented vein disapproved behaviors are interpreted in intra-psychic terms without due consideration of the societal context in which they occur. For example, labelling the homosexual "a classic injustice collector" enables one to ignore societal persecution and oppression: similarly by suggesting that homosexuals are promiscuous and prefer impersonal sexual encounters one can downplay societal forces which work against the establishment of long term relationships among gay males. In this regard descriptions of gay life styles remind one of the "cultural" explanations applied to disapproved behaviors found among other devalued groups, most notably the poor. Not only is there a tendency to confuse necessary adaptive behaviors with preferred ways of living, but also a tendency to seek explanations and solutions within the individual or his culture in isolation from the larger context within which both operate (Valentine, 1968: Ryan, 1971).

The consideration of homosexuals as a distinct homogeneous category has encouraged research into the etiology of the 'disorder'. While there is nothing wrong in attempting to trace the unfolding of a behavior pattern, the relevance of much of this etiological concern rests upon the dubious assumption that what is undesirable about homosexuality is traceable to these formative factors or, as Simon and Gagnon (1967:177) suggest, "is a necessary outcome and in a sense, re-enactment of certain early and determining experiences." It is doubtful, however, that knowing the causes of homosexual activity will provide much insight into what homosexuals do, if only because homosexuals do a wide variety of things. Furthermore, if change is our goal, there is no necessary connection between knowing the cause of something and knowing how to modify it, nor, as the behaviorists have pointed out, is knowledge of causes necessary to change present conditions.

In summary, it is suggested that research on homosexuality has suffered because it has been grounded in the assumption that the homosexual represents a type of person qualitatively different from the heterosexual. This assumption has encouraged an over-emphasis on etiological questions, contributed to a simplified view of what constitutes the homosexual, and helped feed polemical and ideological debate, as well as contributing to the past isolation of research on this topic from the mainstream of sociological thinking.

An approach to gay life styles based upon a marginal man perspective is an attempt to base study not in the differences, but rather the similarities which this group shares with others; it is an attempt to

> move from an obsessive concern with the sexuality of the individual, and...to see the homosexual in terms of the broader attachments that he must make to live in the world around him (Simon and Gagnon, 1967:181).

By taking this approach it is hoped that it will be possible to avoid some of the previous pitfalls in research dealing with gay people and to advance our knowledge of both gay life styles and marginal man theory.

STRATEGY OF PRESENTATION

The dissertation is developed along the following lines. Chapter 2 provides an overview of previous work conducted within a marginal man framework. Much of this research has been devoted to exploring the relationship between occupancy of a marginal situation, variously defined, and the appearance of psychological dis-ease in individuals. While these effects are of importance, it is suggested that emphasis should also be given to other consequences of being in a marginal situation and to the manner in which people cope with such situations. Hypotheses guiding the inquiry are presented and methodology is discussed.

Chapter 3 briefly outlines some of the more salient features of the marginal situation facing gay people at the present time. The nature of the social disabilities gay people potentially face are outlined and an overview of the major institutions found within the Edmonton gay community provided.

Results obtained from the questionnaire used are presented in Chapter 4. The focus is on the patterns of variables which give rise to feelings of psychological marginality in the sample under study and the relative efficacy of participation with both gay and conventional others in promoting individual adjustment and well being.

The role of subcultural and conventional involvement is explored in greater detail in Chapter 5. The attempt is made to account for observed effects in terms of the level of structural development of the gay community and to describe, more specifically, the combination of features composing the gay marginal situation.

Chapter 6 summarizes the findings of the study and offers some suggestions for further consideration.

Chapter I Footnotes

1. To the extent that the behavioral and attitudinal responses of gay people are a product of intrapsychic processes there may be some basis for uncritical cross-cultural generalization. However, to the degree that one assumes that these responses reflect the particular socio-cultural context in which the individual finds himself, such generalization becomes increasingly suspect unless grounded to empirical research.

   While there are similarities between American and Canadian societies, there are also differences in the situation which faces the homosexual in the two countries; for example, the differing legal status of homosexual acts in Canada and many American jurisdictions; the varying degree of social and political organization manifest by the gay communities in the two countries; differences in demographic characteristics of the population, in police attitudes and practices, and in recent history. (The Canadian gay population largely escaped the turmoil visited upon its American counterpart by the close association between homosexuality and heresy apparent in the United States during the early 1950's).

   These differences, as well as others, lead to the suggestion that caution must be taken when generalizing from one society to the other and point to the necessity for separate examination of the Canadian situation.

2. With regard to definitions two cautions mentioned by Churchill (1967) should be kept in mind: first, that definitions of the "homosexual" are essentially arbitrary in nature, with different people stressing different elements, and second, that the term "homosexual" is both noun and adjective, and that indiscriminate use of the term as a noun often "encourages generalizations that usually cannot be substantiated by reality". While not limiting its use here to that of an adjective, its use as a noun is not meant to imply reference to either a particular personality type or to a specific pattern of role behavior, other than in the sense defined above.

3. The term gay however, does carry certain political connotations, implying in part an acceptance of one's sexual orientation and of a way of life, which while based on sexual preference, transcends the physical. For example, Dank (1971) distinguishes between the acquisition of a homosexual identity - the awareness that one possesses a particular sexual orientation - and the acquisition of a gay identity - characterized by the acceptance of one's affectional preferences and a movement into a community of like minded others. While there is a difference between being gay and being homosexual, the exact nature of these differences have not been as yet clearly defined by homophile spokespersons.

   As employed here the term gay does not imply either an acceptance of one's sexuality or an involvement in a particular life style, but is used primarily as a substitute for the word homosexual.

Its use, however, does reflect an underlying perspective which sees sexual orientation as a group phenomena, as opposed to an individual activity, and as a categorization with potential for certain, as yet undefined and unrealized, courses of action.

4. *Time* (Feb. 3, 1975:49) writes, "In the past few years the 'love that dare not speak its name' has become one of the compulsive chatterboxes of the New York Stage." The increase in the professional literature has been equally noticeable. Weinberg and Bell (1972) list over 1200 titles in their bibliography. These works span a broad range of perspectives and include analytically oriented works in the medical-psychiatric tradition (Bieber et. al., 1962), sociological surveys and analysis (Weinberg and Williams, 1974; Humphrey 1972), and psychological assessments (Freedman, 1972). In addition a number of autobiographical studies (Murphy, 1972) have appeared, as well as a growing series of gay-oriented magazines and newspapers.

5. For example, Sagarin (1973) suggests that one should separate the desirability of a cure from discussion of the conditions under which such changes in sexual orientation can and do occur; similarly, one should recognize that the misuse of a concept, here "sickness" for political purposes is not an arguement against its scientific validity, just as "the fact that a kid gets beaten up as he shouts, "Gay is good," does not mean that gay is good, although it may well mean that anti-gay is bad."

Although Sagarin raises his polemic concerns from a stance opposite to that taken here, his view being that the problem lies with those who "advocate" for the rights of gay people, his sensitivity to the role of ideologues is worthy of note, despite its misdirection.

6. Sagarin (1973:10) has written that it may be that:

> there is no such thing as a homosexual, for such a concept is a reification, an artificially created entity that has no basis in reality. What exists are people with erotic desires for their own sex, or who engage in sexual activities with the same sex, others or both. The desires constitute feeling, the acts constitute doing, but neither is being.

It goes without saying that the same applies or should apply to heterosexuals or to heterosexuality.

CHAPTER 2

MARGINAL MAN THEORY: PERSPECTIVES, HYPOTHESES, METHODS

In its broadest and simplest form marginal man theory states that when individuals occupy an intermediate point between two conflicting social positions or cultures they will tend to develop a distinctive configuration of personality traits. Writings on the marginal man are thus of interest to sociologists in that they are concerned with the central sociological issue of the relationships between individuals' social positions and their behavior. This chapter will provide a brief review of marginal man theory and outline hypotheses and areas of concern to be explored in later chapters.

EARLY PERSPECTIVES

Sociological interest in the marginal man was first stimulated by Simmel's brief essay on the stranger. In "The Stranger" Simmel sought to capture the essence of a particular type of social relationship, one characterized by simultaneous nearness and distance, by the quality of being in the group but not of it. He writes:

> In spite of being inorganically appended to it, the stranger is yet an organic member of the group..only we do not know how to designate the peculiar unity of this position other than by saying that it is composed of certain measures of nearness and distance. Although some quantities of them characterize all relationships, a special proportion and reciprocal tension produce the particular, formal relation to the "stranger" (Simmel, 1969: 408).

It remained for Park to give further clarification of this unique constellation of social position and individual response in his essay "Human Migration and the Marginal Man" (Park 1928). Focusing on patterns of mass migration, Park stressed not only their consequences for the collapse of traditional culture and the growth of civilization, but also their effects on the individual caught in this panorama of change. On the positive side the individual is emancipated, freed for new adventures, becoming in a certain sense and to a certain degree a cosmopolitan, learning to "look on the world in which he was born and bred with something of the detachment of a stranger": negatively, the individual is "more or less left without direction and control", becoming a cultural hybrid characterized by "spiritual instability, intensified self-consciousness, restlessness and malaise",

> ...a man living and sharing intimately in the cultural life and traditions of two distinct peoples; never quite willing to break, even if he were permitted to do so, with his past and his traditions, and not quite accepted, because of racial prejudice, in the new society in which he now sought to find a place. He was a man on the margins of two cultures and two societies which never completely interpenetrated and fused (Park, 1928:354).

While enlarging upon Simmel's observations and extending the scope of the phenomena referred to by the concept of the stranger, Park's writings contain ambiguities which are also found in later work. He specifically failed to define the particular social position or situation occupied by the marginal man, and tended to confuse the psychological consequences of being in a marginal situation or position with a sociological description of that situation.[1]

Similar confusion can be seen in Stonequist's (1937) work on the marginal man. For him, the marginal man is both an individual on the periphery of two social groupings or cultures and a particular type of personality.

> The individual who through migration, education, marriage, or some other influence leaves one social group or culture without making a satisfactory adjustment to another finds

> himself on the margin of each but a member of neither. He is a "marginal man." (Stonequist, 1937:2-3).
>
> The marginal man is one who is poised in psychological uncertainty between two or more social worlds; reflecting in his soul the discords and harmonies, repulsions and attractions of these worlds, one of which is often "dominant" over the other (Stonequist, 1937:8).

Whether the marginal man is seen as an occupant of a particular social position or a type of personality, or both, the essence of the marginal situation for Stonequist lay in the fact of cultural conflict. "Wherever there are cultural transitions and cultural conflicts there are marginal personalities." These cultural conflicts are reflected in the mind or personality of the individual who has been unwittingly initiated into these two conflicting traditions, and are felt to be most intense where cultural difference is associated with racial mixture. Despite the emphasis which he placed on cultural conflict as a cause of psychological marginality, Stonequist recognized that not all marginal situations need involve culture conflict. For example, in his discussion of Black Americans he pointed to the discrepancy between Black aspirations and White imposed limitations as forming the essence of this particular marginal situation (Stonequist, 1937: 112).

Despite difficulties[2] Stonequist laid the basis for further analysis of marginal situations and the consequences of such situations for their individual occupants. His work pointed to common elements in the life experiences of disparate groups and attempted to account for these in terms of a common matrix of social relations in which these groups found themselves. He provided a model for viewing the psychological reactions of the individual members of the marginal aggregate to their awareness of being in a marginal situation, as well as suggesting features of the situation which should magnify the individual's difficulties in adjustment and his tendencies to display characteristics of a marginal personality type. For example he suggested that occupancy of a marginal situation is most conducive to psychological turmoil to the degree the dominant group restricts full social acceptance while permitting the transmission of a common cultural heritage. He also felt that the more fully the members of the subordinate group had participated within the dominant culture in the early stages of their life cycle, the greater would be their difficulties in adjusting to limitations imposed at a later date. Both are features which are particularly true for gay people.

SUBSEQUENT WORK ON MARGINALITY

Following ideas suggested by Stonequist, a number of individuals have explored the concept of marginality and its application to a diverse range of social groupings, including mentally retarded and ethnic minorities (Affleck, 1966), Jews (Goldberg, 1941: Antonovsky, 1956), the Durban Coloureds (Dickie-Clark, 1958, 1966), American Indians (Kerckhoff and McCormick, 1955), adolescents (Mann, 1965; Bamber, 1973), migrant farm workers (Nelkin, 1969), Canadian Indians (Lori, 1974), religious minorities (Curtis, 1954), foremen (Wray, 1949), graduate teaching assistants (DeMaree, 1971), chiropractors (Wardell, 1952 and Anglo-Indians (Malelu, 1964). Additionally, a number of critically oriented studies have appeared (Green, 1947; Golovensky, 1952).

The basic thrust of most of these studies has been to describe the marginal situation of a particular social aggregate and to attempt to clarify the relationships intervening between membership in that aggregate (the occupancy of the marginal situation) and the appearance of marginal personality characteristics or traits (MPC). In most cases the major emphasis has been upon the psychological aspects of the perspective, the development of MPC, rather than upon the marginal situation itself and its overall effects on individuals.

In general, the results of work on marginal man theory have supported the outlines suggested by Stonequist, namely, that individuals do differ in the degree to which they manifest traits of psychological marginality and that these variations bear a consistent, if at times small, relationship with two major variables, namely the individuals patterns of identification with the different cultures or social groupings comprising the marginal situation, and the individual's perceptions of the barriers he encounters from the dominant culture or social grouping in attempting to reach his objectives.

Despite the interest shown in the concept of marginality, the theory of the marginal man has not generated an integrated highly remarkable set of research findings. In part this may reflect the focus that has been given to the examination of MPC and the subsequent neglect of the marginal situation. In so far as the term marginality is intuitively understood by many people, it can, and has been applied to groups and situations without a clear delineation of what is meant by marginal in this specific situation or in general and without clarifying the manner or degree to which the group involved is in a marginal situation. Consequently the range of marginal situations and marginal individuals has been extended to such an extent that the concept loses all specificity, leaving one with a search for a non-marginal group or aggregate (Howard, 1974: Kieth-Spiegel, 1973).

COMPONENTS OF MARGINAL MAN THEORY

If marginal man theory is to be of relevance to the understanding of a diverse range of phenomena one must know what is meant by the term marginal, whether applied to situations or to individuals. This requires a distinction among the major elements included in the theory, namely:

1. the marginal situation: the objective conditions of a group or aggregate; the group-related situation or condition in which all members of a social category find themselves due to their membership in that category.
2. the marginal personality: the appearance of certain personality traits among individuals who are found in a marginal situation.
3. the individual's subjective view of the situation: that is, the individual's perception of the situation in which he finds himself.

The Marginal Situation

A review of the literature suggests that the term marginality has been employed with at least two major and closely related emphasis in mind. The first stresses the physical aspects of the marginal situation, that is, marginal in the sense of being peripheral to a given social network, being on the margins of a given group or social structure. This implication can be seen in the work of Bamber (1973), Mann (1965) and Lewin (1959) with respect to adolescents, Affleck (1966) in her discussion of the mentally retarded and ethnic minorities, and Nelkin (1969) in her examination of migrant farm workers.

The second major emphasis in discussions of marginality has centered around the idea of cultural conflict, specifically, the manifestation of group or cultural conflict as psychological conflict within the mind of the individual. Stonequist, for example, speaks of the individual as poised "in psychological uncertainty" between conflicting value systems: Mann (1958) defines the marginal situation as the coexistence of a want and a denial of that want: Kerckhoff and McCormick (1955) suggest that marginal statuses are those in which the individual is subjected to forces to identify with both the dominant and subordinate groups, while marginal men are those who use a non-membership group as a reference group.[3]

There exists general consensus that patterns of peripheral participation (exclusion from social networks) and identification with conflicting cultural values are important aspects to the analysis of marginal situations. While the existence of barriers to acceptance and the presence of conflicting identifications may be usually present in marginal situations; and while they may be necessary conditions for the appearance of MPC, they do not define the marginal situation as such. As mentioned earlier, however, most definitions of the marginal situation have tended to include either patterns of exclusion from group relations or patterns of conflicting identifications, or both, thus including the consequences of being in a marginal situation with the objective definition of that situation. The major exception to this pattern has been Dickie-Clark (1966) who has attempted to separate the marginal situation as sociological phenomenon from consideration of its psychological concomitants. He suggests that all marginal situations have in common an element of hierarchical ranking (this applies whether one is speaking of two roles, two cultures, or two societies). The particular features which make hierarchical situations marginal lie in the nature of or existence of inconsistencies among elements comprising the heirarchy. That is,

> if all marginal situations are hierarchical ones..., then whatever it is that makes a situation marginal lies in consistencies between rankings. Where these occur, marginal situations must result. So marginal situations can be defined as those hierarchical situations in which there is any inconsistency in the ranking of an individual or stratum, in any of the matters falling within the scope of the hierarchy. Whether a situation is marginal or not in this sense can only be determined empirically in each case by looking at all matters regulated by the hierarchy to see if there is any inconsistency among them. (Dickie-Clark, 1966 b:39)[4]

A similar focus on inconsistency was expressed by Hughes (1949) in his discussions of marginality. He suggests that the essence of marginal situations lay in the objective contradiction among status attributes simultaneously presented by the individual. In so far as contradictory statuses imply incompatible normative expectations (regarding beliefs, attitudes or behaviors), and to the extent that the individual is aware of his "status dilemma" he is apt to experience confusion with respect to his social identity and display signs of inner turmoil or dissonance as one possible consequence of being in the marginal situation. The situation, however, is defined not by its effects but by the possession of the inconsistent statuses. Marginal situations are those situations within which individuals are potentially confronted with incompatible normative expectations of belief, attitude and behavior as a consequence of their simultaneous occupancy of two contradictory (differently evaluated)statuses.

Marginal situations refer to one form of social situation characterized by sociological ambivalence. Merton and Barber (1963) define sociological ambivalence as ambivalence experienced by individuals or brought to their exposure "not because of their idiosyncratic history or their distinctive personality but because the ambivalence is inherent in the positions they occupy." A review of the literature would suggest that of the six forms of sociological ambivalence they identify[5] the concept of marginality has been applied to three of them, namely, ambivalence among individuals who have lived in two or more societies and so have become oriented to differing sets of cultural values (Park, 1928; Stonequist, 1937) ambivalence involved in a conflict of statuses within an individual status set (Hughes, 1949), and ambivalence arising from the discrepancy between individual's desires for major cultural values and their anticipation of achieving their desires (Affleck, 1966). The range of phenomena to which the label marginal situation can be applied is, therefore, quite large, varying from transitory inconsistencies of limited scope, for example, DeMaree's graduate students, to relatively permanent situations affecting large numbers of people in many ways, as in the case of oppressed minorities.[6] These situations have, however, in common an ambiguity and inconsistency resident in the particular status constellations presented by individuals occupying the situation, an inconsistency which, as one of its consequences, contributes to the development of psychological dis-ease among individuals involved.

Marginal Personality Characteristics

Marginal man theory states that the occupancy of a marginal situation tends to give rise, under certain intervening conditions, to a predictable pattern of psychological responses (MPC). From the work of Park (1928, Stonequist (1937) and others Kerckhoff and McCormick (1955) have drawn a composite personality profile of the marginal man. Individuals familiar with the literature on homosexuality will notice points of similarity between their description of marginal individuals and the personality traits said to be frequent among gay populations.

> The marginal man is said to be characterized by serious doubts about his place in any social situation. He is unsure of his relationships with friends and acquaintances and is fearful of rejection. This fear of rejection leads him to avoid many situations. He often wants to take part in activities or attempt to do various things but is stopped by fear of failure or rejection. This ambivalence is also seen in characteristic sudden shifts in mood and an inability to make up his mind to act decisively.
>
> He is painfully self-conscious in the presence of other people. He feels inadequate and is convinced that others can do things much better than he. He thus feels lonely and isolated most of the time and wishes he were more adequate and skillful. His apathy and impotence are reflected in frequent daydreams.
>
> His hypersensitivity is seen in his excessive worry about the future. He is characteristically apprehensive about any new venture, and seems to be trying to find causes for being unhappy. He sees life as simply a bad experience. Things often seem to go wrong no matter what he does, and he finds it difficult to enjoy himself. Closely related to this general gloominess and ambivalence mentioned above is a restless feeling that gnaws at him. He feels he should be doing something about his unhappy situation, but finds it difficult to know what to do.
>
> All of the above leads him to be highly critical of other people and to feel that others treat him unjustly. Most people are seen as unreliable and often antagonistic. They do not appreciate his better points and seem anxious to find fault with him (Kerckhoff and McCormick, 1955:52).

These characteristics should be seen as occuring in degrees, rather than all or none fashion, with individuals varying in the extent to which their behavioral and attitudinal responses reveal evidence of marginal personality characteristics. The degree to which individuals manifest MPC is seen as a consequence of their perceptions of the marginal situation, particularly their assessment of the reactions of others towards them. It is these perceptions and subjective evaluations which comprise the third element in marginal man theory - the intervening subjective variables which mediate between the individual's occupancy of the situation and the development of marginal personality characteristics.

The Individuals Subjective View of the Situation

Occupancy of a marginal situation by itself is not seen as sufficient for the appearance of specific psychological responses. Rather, the situation must be defined as such by the individual and responded to by him. Two elements which have been identified are the barriers to acceptance (his perception of patterns of exclusion) experienced by the individual in the marginal situation, and the patterns of identification, with different social groups, which the individual holds. These date from Stonequist (1937), who, in discussing the life cycle of the marginal man pointed to a quiescent period, during which time the individual, unaware of his status as occupant of a marginal situation, is unwittingly initiated into two or more moral or cultural traditions. With the later experience or awareness of the barriers which exclude him from the dominant society (the crisis stage) the individual recognizes his marginal dilemma and experiences the clash of conflicting cultural elements on a personal level.

While a number of different operationalizations of these elements have been used, they have all sought to provide a measure of the individual's identification with, or acceptance of, the value patterns of the dominant culture and of the individual's perception of the degree to which he feels excluded from full acceptance in that society or from the opportunity to achieve the goals it offers. Affleck, for example, (1966) sought to explore the subjective dimension by means of a measure of the discrepancy between the individual's desires for major cultural goals (occupational, monetary, familial) and his anticipation that he would be able to achieve these things. Kerckhoff and McCormick (1955) employed a measure of the degree to which their respondents demonstrated adherence to white culture patterns, as opposed to Indian cultural values as an indicator of identification; barriers were operationalized in terms of the degree to which individuals looked Indian-like in appearance.

MARGINAL MAN THEORY: A FURTHER EXAMINATION

Marginal man theory deals with an area of central concern to sociology, namely,the effects of social structure on the individual's behavioral and psychological functioning. Past research, however, has largely been characterized by an over-emphasis on the psychological end-states said to characterize the marginal man and by the consequent neglect of the marginal situation as a phenomenon worthy of investigation in its own right. This is reflected in the fact that it has taken almost 30 years for the first clear distinction between the marginal situation and the subsequent appearance of psychological marginality to appear in the literature, a lapse which has added to confusion surrounding the theory, by contributing to unnecessary criticism and discussions over who constitutes a marginal man, and by blurring the relationship between marginality and other sociological concepts.

A concentration on psychological outcomes has lead to a set of research findings which Dickie-Clark (1966:187) finds less than gratifying. He writes that while it is possible to characterize individuals as high or low on measures of MPC this "psychological marginality has no substantial effects on peoples' attitudes and actions in a number of crucial areas of behavior."

A number of possible explanations for this state of affairs could be suggested. For example, the theory could be in error. Alternatively, while Stonequist stressed the importance of cultural conflict in predisposing the individual towards the development of marginal personality characteristics, these dual loyalties, in patterns of cultural identification, have rarely been investigated. Thus, while measures of cultural identification have been obtained these measures have tended to be of an either-or type; that is, the individual by scoring high on one set of values (his degree of cultural identification with one society) is by the nature of the scale low on identification with the other culture, as in the work of Kerckhoff and McCormick (1955) and Affleck (1966). It may well be that "situations in which acculturation is involved, might well produce the more serious personality maladjustment that Stonequist insists upon."

Alternatively it could be suggested that the marginal situation may make its presence felt more in terms of specific and concrete attitudes and behavioral responses rather than at the level of global personality traits. Humphreys' (1970) discussion of the "breastplate of righteousness" assumed by some individuals involved in gay sexual encounters provides one example of an overt behavioral response largely determined or influenced by the specific marginal situation in question. This would suggest that in examining the effects of the marginal situation one should look at concrete attitudes and behavior patterns as well as global personality characteristics, for it may be at the former level that the marginal situation has its most meaningful and widespread influence upon individuals within it.

Not to do so is to overlook the fact that most members of marginal aggregates do not display severe signs of personality maladjustment, but rather appear to cope with difficult situations quite well. Past research, by moving from placement in a marginal situation to an investigation of subjective influences on the growth of MPC, has tended to slight both the more general effects of being in a marginal situation and the adaptive capabilities of individuals in such situations.

While the awareness of being in a marginal situation may be a traumatic experience for the individual, and while all individuals found within a particular marginal situation may be subjected to similar stresses and strains only a small minority would appear to manifest many of the symptoms of psychological marginality. This points to the fact that most individuals find relatively successful means of coping with the strains and conflicts inherent in the marginal situation, and would suggest the importance of examining the adaptive capacities and responses of individuals to placement within a marginal situation.

An examination of adaptive responses should include not only an investigation of the individual's subjective states, but also his patterns of behavioral involvement in the two social groupings which comprise the marginal situation. While Park speaks of individuals caught between two worlds, a member of neither, and Stonequist of movement from one group to another without integration into the latter, and while many definitions of marginal situations rely upon the group's "marginality", in the sense of peripheralness to and exclusion from the dominant society, little attention has been devoted to the response patterns of individuals, and the concomitant effect of these patterns on MPC

This despite the fact that Stonequist (1937) pointed out that when an individual finds himself in a marginal situation a number of responses are open to him, including reintegration with the dominant group, identification (and behavioral involvement) with the subordinate group or the assumption of an intermediary role between the two conflicting cultures. A similar list of adaptations or behavioral responses to marginal situations has been presented by Hughes (1949).[7] Both suggest that an individual can attempt to cope with the strains created by the marginal situation in a number of ways, ways which involve placing greater or lesser emphasis on one or the other of their social worlds. The subsequent neglect of this feature may reflect the concern with marginal situations in which the aggregates involved, the more conventional ethnic and racial minorities, are more restricted in the options available to them than are certain other groups, for example, gay people. It perhaps also reflects a general tendency to see the marginal aggregate as more homogeneous than, in reality, it is.

From the perspective of an outsider looking in on a particular group or situation it may appear that the members are extremely homogeneous - the differences between them and us outweighing possible variation among them. Research on homosexuality would appear to have definitely taken this view. In many cases this image may be erroneous and we should recognize that members of marginal aggregates tend to respond or adapt differently to placement in a marginal situation.

As stated, one form of adaptation open to individuals is to orient their life differently in relation to the two most salient groups in their life, namely the conventional or dominant society whose culture they share and the marginal aggregate of which they are now members. That is, an individual can attempt to cope with the strains and discomfort he feels as a consequence of being in a marginal situation either by attempt at integration and participation in the superordinate status structure, by integration and participation in the subordinate group, or through some combination of both.

Faced with conflicting normative expectations as a consequence of occupancy of contradictory statuses - and with the potentiallity for a confused and ambivalent social identity - the individual may attempt to reduce personal discomfort through placing varying emphasis (here seen in terms of degrees of participation) on one or other of the statuses involved, a fact which gives rise to four hypothetical types of response, on a behavioral level, to occupancy of a marginal situation (Figure 2.1).[8]

Although artificial dichotomies, these modes of adaptation may be assumed to be differentially effective in enabling individuals to cope with the pressures generated by the marginal situation and thus should be variably associated with the appearance of MPC and with other indicies of social and personal well being. At minimum they sensitize us to the dual affiliationsof the marginal man and provide a framework from which to approach and organize data gathered from respondents.

		Participation in conventional society	
		High	Low
Participation in gay society	High	elites	careerists
	Low	conformists	isolates

Figure 2.1. Behavioral responses to occupancy of a marginal situation

HYPOTHESES

The discussion of marginality suggests a number of general areas of concern which will be explored in the following chapters. These include, an examination of the circumstances under which individuals found within a marginal situation are most apt to develop personality characteristics indicative of psychological marginality, an investigation of adaptive responses (considered in terms of varieties of social involvement) open to marginal man and their relative efficacy in coping with placement in the marginal situation, as well as a general examination of the marginal situation as a force impinging upon its occupants. These areas of concern will be looked at in reference to gay people, specifically gay males.

Marginal Personality Characteristics

A major focus of marginal man research has involved attempts to delimit the empirical relationship between membership in a marginal situation and the development of psychological traits said to characterize the marginal man. That is, under what circumstances is the ambivalence inherent in the individual's social position reflected in the form of psychological dis-ease or ambivalence? In seeking answers to this question attention has focused both upon the individual's feelings of commitment or identification with significant social groups in his life and his perceptions of barriers which prevent his full participation within these groups.

In general, it can be hypothesized that - the greater the individual's identification with conventional society and the greater his perception of barriers to full participation in that society the greater the degree to which he will display evidence of MPC (Hypothesis 1).

MPC will be most pronounced in those individuals who identify with the larger, conventional society while simultaneously perceiving barriers to their full acceptance in that society. It is these individuals who will feel most uncertain about the stability of their significant social relationships, an uncertainty which should be reflected in their psychological characteristics.

While both patterns of identification and perception of barriers are necessary for the development of MPC the effects of these variables can be examined separately. To the extent that the individual in a marginal situation accepts the perspectives or values of the larger society he should feel more uncomfortable with his own situation and with himself. Thus it can be hypothesized that the greater the identification with conventional society the greater the degree to which the individual will show evidence of MPC (Hypothesis 1a).

In addition to the patterns of identification one can also examine the effects of barriers to acceptance on the development of MPC. The existence of barriers provide actual or potential evidence of the marginal man's lessened evaluation in the eyes of the larger society and call into question the individual's place within the conventional social order. Barriers are of two types, those anticipated and those actually experienced by the individual. These need not be empirically related in that the anticipation of barriers may be sufficient to constrain the individual's behavior so that he has rarely, if ever, experienced actual discriminatory sanctions directed against him. Both, however, threaten the stability of the individual's social position and thus it could be suggested (Hypothesis 1b) that the greater the preceived barriers (anticipated or experienced) to full acceptance in conventional society the greater the evidence of MPC.

While both identification with conventional society and the perception of barriers should be associated with increased signs of MPC it should not be forgotten that individuals are also involved with non-conventional social groups. By shifting his primary allegiance to the out-group the individual should be less affected by the possibility of rejection from the larger society. It can therefore be suggested that the greater the individual's identification with non-conventional others, in this case, with the gay community, the less the evidence of MPC (Hypothesis 2).

While recognizing the significance of exclusion from social groups as basic to an understanding of the psychological situation of the marginal man, Stonequist (1937) suggested that this uncertainty is most severely experienced by the individual in situations where conflicting cultural prescriptions also exist. As Dickie-Clark (1966b) has pointed out most examinations of marginal situations have failed, however, to look at cultural conflicts, focusing instead upon identification with and exclusion from the dominant social group. Assuming Stonequist is correct it can be hypothesized that the greatest evidence of MPC will be found in those individuals who identify with both the conventional and non-conventional social groups simultaneously (Hypothesis 3).

Social Participation

While attention has focused upon the individual's subjective view of his situation in accounts of the development of MPC, relatively little attention has been given to patterns of social involvement as variables intervening between occupancy of a marginal situation and consequent attitudinal responses. It is assumed that these patterns of social participation represent attempts to cope with the tensions engendered by occupancy of a marginal situation: as well it can be assumed that they are differentially effective in achieving their goal. To the extent that this is true they may be seen as significant influences affecting individuals' attitudes towards the self and other social objects. That is, varying patterns of social involvement with both conventional and non-conventional subculture can be seen as having differential effect on the appearance of MPC as well as influencing the individual's overall level of adjustment and the pattern of attitudes he holds towards significant objects in his environement.

The role of participation within the gay community has been the subject of some discussion. Autobiographical accounts and the writings of gay activist spokespersons have stressed the importance of sub-cultural involvement in providing the individual with the ideological and social supports necessary to neutralize the negative evaluations of the larger society. By means of participation with like others the individual not only acquires a more positive sense of identity but is able to ground that identity in a network of social others, thus minimizing the uncertainty engendered by the marginal situation (Dank, 1971). On the other hand, individuals who fail to make this transition - who center their lives within the dominant heterosexual society - remain in positions of continued social uncertainty and ambiguity, which should be reflected in their psychological characteristics. Assuming this characterization is correct, it is reasonable to suggest as hypothesis 4 that both involvement with conventional and non-conventional society will be significantly associated with the development of MPC, but in an opposing manner, that is (hypothesis 4a), *the greater the involvement with conventional society the greater the degree of MPC; and* (hypothesis 4b), *the greater the involvement with non-conventional society the less the evidence of MPC*.

The positive influences of gay community life have not gone unchallenged. A number of writers see the gay world as a relatively barren environment oriented around a limited range of activities - primarily recreational and sexual - which fail to provide a rounded and balanced field of support for the individual. Weinberg and Williams (1974) suggest that while a minimum of subculture participation is necessary for personal adjustment, increasing participation will have little further effect upon adjustment. Myrick (1974) feels that to the extent that gay community involvement interferes with participation in conventional society and the rewards it offers, it is conducive to maladjustment. Thus, while participation within a "deviant" social network may provide the individual with a clear-cut image of his place in society it does so at possible costs in terms of personal happiness and adjustment. Similarly, while involvement with conventional social networks may expose the individual to increased risk of social insecurity it also provides access to reinforcements highly valued by the individual and is therefore conducive to overall adjustment. In the chapters to follow attempts will be made to explore more fully the *effects of participation patterns within gay and conventional society*, *specifically the relationship between forms of participation and social and personal adjustment*.

In addition to examining the relationship between social participation and MPC and adjustment, attempts will be made to *describe more fully the marginal situation* and its effects on individual members of the marginal aggregate. In part this will include *an examination of the frequency and* distribution of "minority-groups traits" found among gay males. In his classic work on prejudice Allport (1954) suggested that all persecuted groups reveal a pattern of defensive responses to their situation, what he termed traits due to victimization. In an article published shortly after, Hooker (1956) sought to relate some of the characteristic behavior patterns of male homosexuals to the patterns of discrimination and hostility found within the larger society. It is proposed here to examine the frequency of these "traits due to victimization," as one example of the more concrete manifestations of the effects of the marginal situation and to see how they vary among homosexuals differentially involved with conventional and non-conventional social structures.

METHODOLOGY

This dissertation aims to test specific hypotheses concerning the development of MPC in a sample of gay males and to explore the nature of the marginal situation in which gay males find themselves. These goals, while complimentary, are not equally reachable by means of the same methodological approach, and thus dual strategies were employed in the data gathering. For the more structured questions, data was obtained by means of self-administered questionnaires: for an overall picture of the marginal situation information was obtained through fieldwork techniques. The simultaneous use of survey and observational methodologies can be seen as mutually advantageous.[9] In this study fieldwork activities were of particular value, in addition to the data they provided, in reassuring respondents about the nature of the investigation and encouraging them to complete the questionnaire.

The fieldwork consisted of extensive contact with members of the Edmonton, Alberta gay community over a period of approximately six months. Attempts were made to participate, unobtrusively, within as wide a range of activities as possible. At no point was there an attempt to disguise the fact that I was a sociology student working on a doctoral dissertation focusing on the gay community. In addition to informal contacts two gay conferences were attended, one a regional Prairie meeting held in Edmonton in May, 1975; the other a National Gay Rights Conference held in Ottawa from June 29 - July 1, 1975.[10]

Survey data were collected by means of a self-administered pre-tested questionnaire (see Appendix 1). The questionnaire was left for pick-up at three locations within the gay community in Edmonton. Others were distributed individually and people were encouraged to pass copies along to friends and acquaintances.

Composition of the Questionnaire

The final version of the questionnaire consisted of a humdred items designed to provide data on the major variables under consideration. Wherever possible the specific scales used to operationalize the major concepts were drawn from the existing literature, with an aim towards maximizing reliability, validity and brevity. The use of existing indicies, in addition to simplifying the work involved, also increases the possibility that meaningful comparisons can be drawn with existing work in the field. Prior to final distribution the questionnaire was pre-tested and modifications made in response to comments from respondents.

Specific Scales*

1. Involvement with heterosexual and homosexual society

The objective of both measures of social participation was to capture the degree to which the individual was involved in regularized ties with both conventional and non-conventional social structures. No assumption was made as the importance of specific acts or types of participation for the individuals involved; nor is it assumed that the measures of involvement represent a unidimensional construct, in that available evidence suggests that intercorrelations among types of social participation are relatively low (Teele, 1962).

Involvement with conventional (heterosexual) society was operationalized by means of a nine item scale modelled after Teele (1962), and designed to tap participation in voluntary organizations, church attendance, and involvement with relatives and heterosexual friends. (Items 7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,20a).

Involvement with gay society was measured by means of an eleven item scale designed to tap involvement in diverse aspects of the gay community, for example, friendship patterns, membership in homophile organizations, attendance at gay bars, and reading of gay literature. (Items 15,16,17,18,19,20,21,22,23,24,100).

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* The numbers following the scale name indicate the items of the questionnaire used in composing that scale. See Appendix 1 for a copy of the questionnaire. A measure of internal consistency was obtained using

$$\alpha = \left(\frac{p}{p-1}\right)\left(\frac{1-\Sigma\sigma^2_{x_i}}{\sigma^2_x}\right)$$

(Armor,1974:22)

2. Marginal Personality Characteristics

MPC was operationalized as the individual's score on Mann's Revised M Scale (Mann, 1958; Dickie-Clark, 1966), a fourteen item cumulative scale (reproductibility = .95). This scale, similar to others in the literature is based upon Kerckhoff's (Kerckhoff and McCormick, 1956) work in operationalizing Stonequist's impressionistic writings on the marginal man. It was chosen over alternative forms (Affleck, 1966: Bamber, 1973) due to its greater brevity and reliability. (Items 26, 29, 30, 31, 35, 36, 37, 38, 66, 69, 80, 81, 83).

3. Identification with Conventional and Non-conventional Society

Identification with conventional society was operationalized by means of the individual's acceptance of stereotypic attitudes towards homosexuals (Steffensmeier and Steffensmeier, 1974). Acceptance of stereotypic attitudes was seen as one measure of the degree to which the individual views his situation and himself in terms of evaluative frameworks provided by the dominant society (27, 82).[11]

A measure of identification with non-conventional society was obtained using Hammersmith and Weinberg's (1973) "commitment to a homosexual identity" scale (54,44: α =.82).

4. Barriers to Acceptance

Experienced barriers to acceptance have been operationalized as the individual's score on an eight item "rejection scale" adapted from the work of Farrell and Morrione (1974) (51,52,53,64,65,43,44,46: α =87).

Anticipated barriers to acceptance were operationalized as the individual's score on a three item rejection scale derived from the work of Weinberg and Williams (1974) (59,60,61: α =.72).

5. Psychological Adjustment

Adjustment is a broad, multidimensional concept. For the purpose of this study attention has been focused upon the psychological aspects of adjustment, more specifically on the degree to which the individual esteems or accepts himself. Adjustment has, therefore, been operationalized using Rosenberg's "Self-Esteem Scale." (Rosenberg, 1965: Weinberg, 1970, (25,28,34,40,41,67,70,71,79: α =.81).

According to Rosenberg (1965:31), high self-esteem scores indicate that:

> ...the individual respects himself, considers himself worthy; he does not necessarily consider himself better than others, but he definitely does not consider himself worse; he does not feel that he is the ultimate in perfection, but, on the contrary, recognizes his limitations and expects to grow and improve.
>
> Low self-esteem, on the other hand, implies self-rejection, self-dissatisfaction, self-contempt. The individual lacks respect for the self he observes. The self picture is disagreeable, and he wishes it were otherwise.

The utilization of a measure of self-esteem or self-acceptance as an indicator of general psychological adjustment is justifiable on the basis of the central role attributed to self-concept in both the psychological and sociological literature.

6. Miscellaneous Items

In addition to the above measures the questionnaire contains items designed to provide data on demographic and socio-economic characteristics (2,3,4,5,6,95,96,97,98), sexual orientation (94), disclosure of sexual orientation (Myrick, 1974; Weinberg and Williams, 1974)(63), self-stability (84,85,86), alienation (Middleton,1963) (48,49,50,75,76) and the frequency of different types of minority group reactions (traits due to victimization).

Limitations

Both the nature of the population under study and the time constraints of dissertation research encourage the use of annonymous self-report questionnaires as the major means of data gathering. It is recognized, however, that this type of methodology places certain limitations on the type of data available for analysis.

While survey research is a convenient way in which to gather information concerning many aspects of the present state of the population, the data obtained provide but limited insight into the nature of the temporal and/or causal processes involved in handling gay life styles. Thus, the sequences of events implied in later chapters must be seen as largely assumed rather than resting upon detailed examination of life histories as revealed through in-depth interviews.

Additionally, a reliance upon complex and relatively long written questionnaires increases the possibility of alienating segments of the total population and leaving a sample biased in terms of individuals of higher socio-economic status. Furthermore, the self-selected nature of the sample raises the probability that the sample is over-represented with individuals more involved within the gay community and more accepting of and comfortable with their sexual orientation. While attempts were made to obtain a sample of respondents representative of the larger population it is recognized that the final sample falls short of this goal to an unknown degree. For further information on the difficulties involved in research with gay populations the reader is referred to work by Hooker (in Faberow, 1963) and Warren (1972, 1974).

Chapter 2 Footnotes

1. Two meanings of the term marginal are apparent in Park's writings, a psychological one, in which the marginal man is marginal in that he carries within him two conflicting cultural systems, and a sociological one, in which the term marginal situation refers to a social position midway between two clearly defined social positions or cultures.

2. A number of criticisms have been leveled at Stonequist's work, criticisms which in large part reflect his failure to clearly differentiate the marginal situation from the consequences of that situation. For example, Goldberg (1941) argued that the Jews were not a marginal group, as suggested by both Park and Stonequist, in that they had developed a 'marginal culture' which served to protect them from the marginal situation, and thus, did not display the characteristics assumed to be associated with the marginal man. On a different level Green (1947) has attacked the circularity inherent in notions of culture conflict. For a comprehensive review of marginal man theory see Dickie-Clark (1966b).

3. A third usage of the term marginal is also found in the literature namely, the idea of marginal social roles. For example, Guber (1940) speaks of marginal individuals as those occupying a peripheral role, i.e. one between any two differentiated and largely exclusive institutions, cultures, complexes, or other cultural systems. Wray (1949) in his discussion of the role of foreman, suggests that the existence of cross pressures makes the role a decidedly marginal one; Wardell (1952) feels that the role of chiropractor is marginal in that it is peripheral to the well institutionalized role of doctor. In this case the marginality or ambiguity is built into the social role of chiropractor, rather than being a function of conflict between two social roles or cultural systems as is the case with most other work.

4. If one assumes that the elements regulated by a hierarchy fall into two broad areas, social acceptance and status placement within the dominant society and cultural similarity (cultural values) with the dominant group, one can conceive of a number of basic types of inconsistency or types of marginal situation. For example, those in which inconsistencies exist between different degrees of social acceptance and status for different matters, or those in which there are different rankings in terms of cultural similarity, or finally inconsistencies between elements of similarity cultural and social acceptance. The latter case is the most common type of marginal situation discussed in the literature and the one applicable to the situation of most cultural and/or racial minorities.

5. Merton and Barber, (1963:96) distinguish the following forms of sociological ambivalence:

    1. in its most restricted sense, sociological ambivalence refers to conflicting normative expectations socially defined for a particular social role associated with a single social status, i.e., intra-role conflict.
    2. ambivalence involved in a conflict of statuses within an individual's status-set.
    3. conflict among several roles associated with a particular status, i.e., inter-role conflict.
    4. contradictory cultural values held by members of a society.
    5. the disjunction between culturally prescribed aspirations and socially structured avenues for realizing these aspirations.
    6. ambivalence among individuals who have lived in two or more societies and so have become oriented to differing sets of cultural values, to which is closely related the ambivalence of people who accept certain values held by groups of which they are not members, i.e., the ambivalence of non-membership reference group situations.

6. Dickie-Clark (1966b) suggests that marginal situations vary along a number of dimensions including the scope or range of matters affected by the situation, the criteria (ascribed achieved) for membership, the duration of the situation, and the nature of the particular inconsistency in question.

7. Hughes (1949) suggests that:

    1. All such persons could give up the struggle by retiring into the status with which they are most stubbornly identified with by society.
    2. One of the statuses could disappear.
    3. Persons of marginal position might individually resign from the status which interferes with their other status aims.
    4. One or both of the statuses might, without disappearing, be so broadened and redefined as to reduce the inner dilemma and the outward contradiction.
    5. The social system may be elaborated to include a marginal group as an additional category of persons with their own identity and defined position.

8. Figure 2.1 outlines four possible ways in which marginal individuals in this case gay males, can relate to their alternative social worlds in terms of participation with each. The specific terms "elite" and "careerist" were taken from Wareen's (1972) study of gay community. While it is recognized that this division of gay populations is somewhat artificial and highly oversimplified it is felt that it does point towards significant variations and is useful as a starting point for analysis.

9. Marshall et. al. (1975) suggest that a dual approach serves to increase confidence in data obtained by the alternative method, enhances completness of the data and aids in monitering the data data collection process. Similarly, Sieber (1973) points out that a combined approach provides reciprocal benefits in the areas of study design and data collection and analysis.

10. The regional conference was attended by delegates representing activist groups from Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba. It sought to provide a forum for the sharing of experiences among Prairie gays. The National Conference involved representatives from gay organizations across Canada and was primarily focused upon the establishment of a National Gay Rights Coalition, as an organizing body to coordinate the struggle for gay civil rights. Travel funds to attend this conference were provided by the Canada Council.

11. An additional measure of identification with conventional society, Comrey's "Acceptance of the Social Order" was also included in the questionnaire and will be referred to in the data analysis. (32, 33, 87, 88,: α =.74).

CHAPTER 3

THE MARGINAL SITUATION OF THE GAY MALE

Previous chapters have provided an introduction to the nature of research on homosexuality and marginality and presented certain hypotheses and areas of concern which will be explored in Chapters 4 and 5. It has been suggested that our understanding of homosexuality and gay life styles will be best advanced if we focus not on the differences which supposedly mark off the homosexual from the non-gay person, but rather on the points of similarity which gay pgople share with other members of the society. Central to an understanding of homosexuality is the realization that gay people constitute an oppressed minority in present day society - that they are occupants of a marginal situation - and that the behavioral and attitudinal responses supposedly due to gay culture or homosexual personality traits are in fact a reflection of and a response to societal oppression and persecution.

Chapter 3 presents an introduction to the social situation facing gay minorities, outlining some of the forms that societal oppression can and does take, and identifying the more salient features of the gay marginal situation. The intent is not to provide a detailed documentation of specific cases but rather to offer examples illustrative of the nature of the difficulties potentially confronting gay people. As well an outline of the public institutional arrangements found within the gay community in Edmonton is presented.

GAYS AS OCCUPANTS OF A MARGINAL SITUATION

As stated in Chapter 1, homosexuality as an area of study has most often been approached from a medical or psychiatric perspective emphasizing pathological personality development. More recently there has been an increasing focus on the interpersonal aspects of the situation and an attempt to relate the study of homosexuality and gay life styles to the broader societal framework implicit in studies of minorities in general. Ironically, among the first to do so were not sociologists trained in intergroup relations, but rather a gay spokesman and a psychologist (Cory, 1951; Hooker, 1956). It was Hooker, for example, who suggested that such psychological traits as in-group hatred, passivity, and dependence should best be seen, not as part of a homosexual personality syndrome, but rather as a consequence of the oppressive social situation in which gays find themselves, a situation comparable in some ways to that faced by Blacks, Native Indians or other devalued minorities.

While still a minor part of the total output on the topic of homosexuality, the group relations approach is growing in importance. Recently, both Kameny (1971) and Hacker (1971) have depicted the homosexual as a member of a minority group. Kameny for one suggests that gays fit the criteria of minority group beloningness in that they possess a distinguishing minority characteristic, experience prejudicial and discriminatory treatment on the basis of that characteristic, are reacted to in a depersonalized manner (as an aggregate rather than as individuals), and as a consequence have tended to develop a distinctive subculture with a sense of community and belongingness among members.

The last point, the degree to which a gay community possessing a distinct subculture exists, is debatable. If one sees this characteristic as essential to a definition of minority groups it may be preferable to speak of gay people as possessing a "minority group status" (Hacker, 1971: 25) or as occupants of a marginal situation. What is not debatable is the fact that gay people comprise an aggregate which has experienced, and which continues to experience, significant social disabilities on account of their socio-sexual preferences. All gay people, regardless of their overtness, co-exist within an environment which views being gay as inconsistent or incompatible with most other statuses they may possess and which reserves the possibility to deny, on the basis of this status, rights and privileges entitled to them given other statuses they hold. The two sections which follow review public attitudes towards homosexuality and outline patterns of potential exclusion faced by gay people as a consequence of their gayness.

PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARDS GAY PEOPLE

A number of studies suggest that attitudes towards homo-erotic activity and gay people are extremely negative[1]. Simmons (1965, 1969) found that homosexuals were more frequently mentioned than any other category in openended responses to the questions "Who is deviant?", and that the most frequent traits characterizing such individuals included: sexually abnormal, perverted, mentally ill, maladjusted, and effeminate. Steffenmeier and Steffenmeier (1974) found that 88 percent of their respondents characterized male homosexuals as sick, while 61 percent saw them as dangerous. In a social distance rating of outsider groups gay males ranked 39th, exceed in undesirability only by lesbians and Nazis (Keith-Spiegel, 1973: 571), a finding similar to that obtained by Simmons (1969). Levitt and Klassen (1974) report that nearly 50 percent of their sample believed that "homosexuality, as a corruption of society, can cause the downfall of a civilization", while 83 percent agreed with the statement that homosexuality is obscene and vulgar.

Canadian data are somewhat more difficult to find. Mann (1971) reports that 24 percent of a York University sample feel that homosexuality is inherently wrong, sinful, and physically harmful (if engaged in frequently), with another 27 percent regarding it as not a good idea. In a study of preferred legal sanctions Boydell and Grindstaff (1972) found that 40% of their respondents advocated some legal sanction for the performance of a homosexual act, with 15 percent suggesting that the most frequent penalty should be a period in jail.

In addition to attitude surveys, other more impressionistic data concerning public views on homosexuality and homosexuals are readily available, for example, in mass media presentations, letters to the editor, comedy acts in nightclubs, and in the range of potent swear-words and insults available in our culture. Although negative attitudes towards certain acts need not reflect the ultimate reaction the individual may face from others for engaging in these acts (Kitsuse, 1962), and while the general view of homosexuality may be undergoing a rapid change in the direction of increased tolerance (Yankelovich, 1974), the overall or prevalent attitude towards homosexual acts and towards people who engage in these acts would still appear to be largely negative.

While the individual gay, or any other individual in possession of a devalued trait need not share the negative evaluations of the surrounding community, he cannot help but be aware of them, and their implications. He presents or could present were his complete status configuration known at least one significant attribute which could be used as a basis for exclusion from rights inherent in other statuses he holds.

PATTERNS OF EXCLUSION

While marginal situations are defined by the existence of a shared pattern of contradictorily or inconsistently evaluated attributes, they derive their significance for the individuals involved from the systematic differential treatment these individuals experience as a result of holding the particular set of attributes in question, that is, as a result of institutionalized patterns of exclusion and oppression.

These patterns of exclusion may be seen as taking three forms - denial of legal rights, denial of occupational security, and denial of one's basic humanity. Humphreys in his discussion of the "intolerable reality" of gay people refers to these as "legal physical oppression," "occupational-financial oppression," and "ego-destructive oppression," respectively.[2]

These forms of social disenfranchisement are undoubtedly related. For example, a denial of civil liberties contributes to occupational insecurity while a denial of basic humanity justifies or makes easier restrictions on legal rights due all "decent people." For purposes of discussion they may be treated as three separate areas in which societal attitudes concretely affect the individuals involved. The illustrative material presented is largely anecdotal. This reflects both intent, that is, the goal is simply to acquaint people with the nature of the situation, and necessity, namely, the fact that statistical documentation of the extent of these difficulties is unavailable, particularly for the Canadian case at the present time. Further information on the scope of the problem can be obtained from an examination of the major homophile newspapers, for example, The Advocate and The Body Politic[3], as well as from a few recent publications, for example, Greenfield et. al., Open Doors: A Manual of the Discrimination and Prejudice against Gay People (1972).

Denial of Legal Rights

In his discussion of legal-physical oppression facing gays in America, Humphreys points to the existence of legal prohibitions against homosexual acts and the subsequent "secondary crimes" which this situation may give rise to; for example, blackmail and physical assault. The Canadian situation is somewhat different from that found in most American jurisdictions in that sexual acts among consenting adults, over 21 years, and in private, were removed from the criminal code in 1969.[4] With the exception of the present Immigration Act which is under revision there appear to be few, if any, references within the criminal law or other legal statutes which single out homosexuals for differential treatment.

The legal difficulties faced by gay people tend to involve not the presence of discriminatory statutes, but rather the absence of protective provisions within the law- sins of omission rather than commission. The absence of the term "sexual orientation" in any of the provincial or federal human rights legislation severely limits the gay person's ability to combat discriminatory treatment encountered within a variety of situations, for example, housing and employment.

In the absence of protective legislation courts and other quasi-judicial bodies have tended to interpret situations in a manner which discriminates against gays. For example, in a recent case custody of children was awarded to the father on the grounds that the mother was unfit, an unsuitability demonstrated only by her lesbianism (_Body Politic_, Sept/Oct, 1974); similarly, the strict interpretation of prison regulations has meant hardship for gays within prison settings (_Body Politic_, Sept/Oct, 1974) and difficulties have been encountered by gay social clubs in obtaining liquor permits in various jurisdictions.

The general position of many governmental leaders would appear to be that the public is not ready to protect the rights of gay people. While perhaps a correct reading of public opinion, it does suggest a strange view of human rights legislation; namely, that such legislation can or should only be enacted when no longer necessary.[5]

The intent in stating that the major legal obstacle facing gay people was not the presence of discriminatory statutes, but rather the absence of protective legislation, was not to imply that there exists no regulations which adversely affect gays as a class. These do exist; additionally, certain statutes are felt by many to be interpreted differentially when dealing with gay people and are thus oppressive in nature.

This involves both the strict enforcement of petty rules and regulations, as in the case of ticketing people for jaywalking in front of gay clubs or the over-zealous concern for parking infringements in similar locales, as well as more the systematic harrassment of gay institutions and socio-political groups. These activities would appear to represent both indivdual initiative on the part of specific law enforcement personnel as well as the informal policy of organized bodies within the larger society.[6] The extent to which discriminatory regulations exist and the degree to which these and other rules, ostensibly applicable to all are utilized to control gay people has not as yet been adequately documented, although Gays of Ottawa (GO) is presently preparing a publication on the matter.[7]

Denial of Occupational Security

The vulnerability engendered by the absence of protective legislation is felt most acutely by gay people in the occupational sphere.

In considering occupationally related difficulties, the extent to which gay people are actually discriminated against in the occupational arena, should be distinguished from the degree to which they could face potential sanctions were their sexual preferences known.

The John Damien case while not a unique incident is more the exception than the rule (Body Politic, Jan/Feb, 1975: Body Politic, May/June, 1975).[8] While the actual incidence of job-related difficulties among gays is perhaps very low, this does not necessarily reflect tolerance upon the part of the general public, but rather the individual's ability to keep his sexual orientation secret. It is in the area of occupational activity that the double life of the homosexual is most apparent. As Table 3.1 reveals a larger percentage of employers are unaware of the respondents sexual orientation than any other category. Other data gathered suggests that only about 12 percent of the sample have or would want to disclose their sexual preferences in the workplace.

The necessity for concealment is indicated by data provided by Levitt and Klassen (1974), who report, among other things, that 59 percent of the public believes that homosexuals pose a security risk for government jobs, a view shared by Canadian officialdom as well (Section 100 of the Report of the Royal Commission on Security), while 38 percent feel that homosexuals tend to corrupt their fellow workers sexually. Additionally, there seems to exist a widespread desire on the part of the public for the exclusion of gay people from a diverse range of occupations (Table 3.2). In view of these figures, the desire on the part of many respondents to conceal being gay from employers does not seem an unrealistic assessment of the social situation.

Table 3.1. Others' Awareness of Respondents' Sexual Orientation

	Mother	Father	Siblings	Best Friend	Employer
			Percentages*		
Knows for sure	40	29	39	53	11
Knows or suspects	50	46	61	67	31

*Number of cases ranges from 99 to 142.

The interrelationships between socio-sexual preferences and occupational careers are difficult to unravel.

Quite obviously there do exist systematic discriminatory policies directed against gay people in a number of occupations; for example, teaching, the civil service, although there are signs that some of these barriers are beginning to weaken. Equally important is the fact that the suspicion of homosexuality, justified or not, may be the underlying cause of hiring, firing and promotional decisions ostentiously based upon more rational criteria, although the degree to which this occurs is unknown. Perhaps all one can say with certainty is that most gay people are aware of the potentialities for discriminatory action were their homosexuality known and thus tend to conceal such orientations within the workplace. Consequently few face the risk of losing their jobs. The segmented nature of modern society, in which work and other roles may be easily separated, as well as the tendency of most people to assume normalcy unless given strong evidence to the contrary aid in the process of concealment. This topic will be returned to in a later discussion of effects of the marginal situation. At present it need only be noted

Table 3.2. Occupational Attitudes (Presented in Percentages)*

	Homosexual men should or should not be allowed to work in the following professions:								
	Court judge	School Teacher	Minister	Medical doctor	Govt. official	Beautician	Artist	Musician	Florist
Allowed	22.8	23.1	23.4	32.3	32.6	71.7	84.5	85.2	86.8
Not allowed	77.2	76.9	76.6	67.7	67.4	28.3	15.5	14.8	13.2
Total responding	2957	2974	2970	2961	2954	2969	2960	2974	2972
No answer	61	44	48	57	64	49	58	44	46
Total sample	3018	3018	3018	3018	3018	3018	3018	3018	3018

* From: Levitt and Klassen (1974:33)

that the potential for difficulties within the occupational sphere is perceived by most gay people to be an area of major concern.

Denial of Basic Humanity

A third problem area related to placement in a marginal situation is the difficulty facing the gay person in his struggle to develop a coherent, positive sense of identity within a social milieu characterized by oppression and ridicule. While inseparable from and including other forms of exclusion, in that every denial of legal and occupational rights reinforces a sense of exclusion from the common family of man, the denial of one's humanity extends beyond these forms of oppression. The gay person is repeatedly confronted with evidence that his whole life pattern is totally, or in part, unacceptable to the majority of the people with whom he interacts. He continually encounters evidence, whether directed specifically at him or not, of the negative attitudes mentioned earlier. He is then faced with the problem of resolving these judgements and establishing a valid sense of identity in the face of continued signs of 'abnormality', a problem complicated by the fact that he has most likely internalized the evaluations of people like him prior to his awareness of his own particular situation.

> The homosexual, you know, before he knows he's a homosexual... grows up hearing all sorts of things - that's a queer, that's a faggot. They get this from parents in many cases, relatives, teachers, older brothers, peers, that it's bad, bad, bad. All of a sudden that individual grows up and their sexuality begins to develop and they say, "My God, I am one of those, those, bad, despicable, immoral individuals," and it becomes a constant effort to find a way to get into the mainstream of society with that knowledge that the mainstream of society has some pretty negative feelings toward that individual (Rev. B. Wolf, Larry Soloway Show, CTV, Jan. 28, 1975).

Given that people have a basic need to establish a valid sense of identity, and given that a valid identity is only possible through a congruence of what one is, what one announces oneself to be, and what society sees and accepts one as being (Rainwater, 1970:375), the difficulties faced by even the overt individual are apparent. The inability of many gay people to blend the conflicting images of themselves into a congruent unity and to attain a sense of self-acceptance has been documented repeatedly, if impressionistically, not only within the psychiatric literature but also by sociologists, gay liberation spokespersons, and the popular media. (Humphreys, 1972; Murphy, 1971, Altman, 1971; Cory, 1951; Crowley, 1968).

While the "ego-oppression" of the gay person is an ugly reality, which manifests itself in fear, disgust and ridicule, we must be careful not to over-dramatize the pathos, turmoil, and misery involved. Just as one would not judge suburban sanity on the basis of Albee's A Delicate Balance, one must move beyond Boys in the Band or The City and the Pillar, in assessing gay worlds. Similarly, the life careers of homophile and ex-homophile writers (Aaron, 1972; Altman, 1971; Miller, 1972; Murphy, 1971; Reid, 1973), may not reflect the emotions and turmoil found in the lives of the less literary. There would appear, for example, to be some differences found between these reports and the levels of adjustment and life satisfaction reported in a number of studies (Freedman, 1971). Many individuals appear to be able to cope quite well with what would seem to be a monolithic rejection of their total life style.

The relative absence of pathology on an individual level suggests the necessity for a reassessment of the relationship between societal oppression and individual outcomes, and a further examination of the adaptive and coping abilities of oppressed minorities.

DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF THE MARGINAL SITUATION

Marginal situations arise when aggregates share similar patterns of inconsistent statuses. Marginal situations take many forms and can be seen to vary in a number of ways, for example, the scope of activities regulated or affected by the particular inconsistency, the duration of the situation, the nature of the barriers faced by members, or the criteria involved for membership (the voluntary or involuntary nature of the devalued status). In regard to the last point, it is debatable whether sexual orientation and life styles based upon it, represents an involuntary, ascribed-like status or whether it is a position primarily achieved by the individual.[9] Regardless of which is more correct, gay people, unlike many other devalued groups, cannot wholly free themselves from the thought that they could do something about their "condition" if only they really wanted to, and as a consequence perhaps experience a greater degree of ambiguity than those individuals who enter a marginal situation via totally ascribed criteria (Altman, 1971).

The most important feature of any marginal situation are the specific patterns of exclusion which individuals encounter. As we have seen, in the case of gay people these barriers potentially encompass a wide area of the individual's life. In regard to barriers there are two distinctive features of the gay situation worthy of mention, namely, the relationship between barriers and the individual experience of them and the specific type of inconsistency experienced by gay people.

The first refers to the fact that while the barriers facing gay people are wide in scope and, in theory, relatively severe, they are easily surmounted, in most cases, on an individual level. In so far as gay people are the most invisible of minorities,[10] separated neither by appearance, cultural heritage, nor past record from the dominant community, they are able to transcend[11] the barriers and to pass without difficulty into all facets of the larger society. While transcending (escaping) the limitations of the larger society is found to a degree among most devalued minorities the extent to which this is both possible (and to which it occurs) is unparalleled in the case of gay people. Provided the individual is prepared to curtail signs of his gay life style and to model his public behavior in terms of the available heterosexual examples he is not apt to experience concrete discriminatory actions directed at him personally.

Whereas members of other minorities cannot escape from their situation, the gay person finds himself in a position where escape is the most readily available and easily chosen alternative. This fact has implications both for the formation and elaboration of gay community structures and in the area of the personal difficulties faced by gay people. On a personal level gay people assumedly experience (or are open to experience) a sense of shame in that their personal characteristics (in this case sexual preferences) depart from the ideal "identity standard" prevailing in the society as a whole (Goffman, 1963). In this their case is no different from that of other stigmatized groups. In addition most gay people also are subject to whatever strains arise from the necessity of concealling a significant aspect of their personal biographies.[12] While such strains have usually been approached or discussed in terms of strains engendered by hiding the discreditable identity,it may be that for gay people the major difficulty is one of trying to assert some aspect of their gay identity into social situations.

A second related feature of the gay marginal situation worthy of mention concerns the relationship between cultural similarity and barriers to social acceptance. Dickie-Clark (1966b) has suggested that marginal situations can be conceptualized, in part, as varying along two continua, one, the degree of societal rejection experienced by the group in question and two, the degree of cultural similarity between the marginal and the dominant groups in the society. Gay people represent the extreme case of a group characterized by total cultural similarity and high degree of rejection. Unlike members of most other marginal groups whose early experiences are within the protective fold of an ethnic community or sub-nation, the gay person grows up within and acquires the culture of the dominant heterosexual society.[13]

Even after having discovered his sexual orientation the gay person does not necessarily come into possession of subcultural alternatives around which to organize and structure his new behavioral needs and interests. Indeed, the very existence of a gay subculture(s) is problematic.

While most writers speak freely of gay subcultures they often do so without specifying either the criteria used to identify a subculture or the degree to which these criteria are found within the gay community. If it is assumed that the term subculture refers to a subset of values distinctively different from the surrounding larger culture (Yinger, 1961) the existence of a gay subculture(s) is doubtful (Rokeach, 1973:142-2; Simon and Gagnon, 1967; Ellis, 1956). If, however, subcultures can be identified by the existence of normative expectations which provide community members with a "world view, a style of life and the standards against which they can measure their own worth" (Schwartz and Merten, 1967), the existence of gay subcultures is more likely.[14]

While there is little doubt that gay life styles differ somewhat from those of the larger society it must be recognised that these interaction patterns and their normative supports remain closely linked to the larger society and culture within which gay people were raised and within which they spend most of their time. At their most distinctive gay subcultures strongly reflect the values and norms of the larger culture - modified in part by the special needs and circumstances of gay life. They do not provide a coherent, clearly defined set of alternatives around which the gay person may organise his life. More than most marginal aggregates gay people share intimately in the culture of the dominant society. They are thus particularly aware of and sensitive to the negative attitudes and reactions of the larger society. Not only do they face rejection, but this rejection comes from others whose values they share and with whom they have their closest personal ties.

The marginal situation facing gay people is characterized in part by a combination of cultural similarity to the dominant society (with weakly developed subcultural alternatives), severity of potential sanctions, and by the degree to which these restrictions may be largely avoided. Taken together these features provide the basic parameters of the situation within which gay people as a group function.

THE EDMONTON GAY COMMUNITY, MAJOR INSTITUTIONS

Despite the numbers of gay people which can be presumed to exist within the city and the surrounding districts, the public range of institutions existing in Edmonton is extremely limited and consists of two gay bars, a gay bath and a community service organization.[15]

The gay bar is the central institution in every gay community.[16] Edmonton has two bars, both of which are licenced as private social clubs and open on Friday and Saturday evenings only. One is run as a private, profit venture and attracts a sizable number of straight people in addition to gay patrons. The second is a community based, non-profit association and is more restrictive in its clientele. It was in this setting that questionnaires were distributed. In addition, the back third of a downtown pub is recognized as a gay territory and attracts some gay people during the week. A cursory analysis would suggest that there is nothing unique to the bar situation in Edmonton. Gay bars as an institutional system tend to perform similar functions and to be organized in much the same way across North America (Hooker, 1970; Achilles, 1967), the concrete manifestations of this system reflecting features unique to the setting such as city size (Harry, 1974) or varying liquor control regulations in different jurisdictions.

There is one bath in the city. The baths are an arrangement found only in the male gay world and provide the opportunity for non-emotional sexual contacts. Many people in our society, gay or straight, find it difficult to view sexual activity favourably unless it is connected with affection. Consequently the baths have acquired a somewhat pejorative connotation and many individuals avoid them.[17] While the baths provide the setting for sex without commitment they can also provide an opportunity to relax and socialize in pleasant and protected surroundings. The Edmonton bath would appear to function not only as a sexual trysting place, but also as a focal point for many members of the gay community. It is not known to what degree such a situation is unique to Edmonton. A number of factors would appear to contribute to this enhanced role, not the least of which are the relative absence of other public settings, and the relaxed, friendly nature of the proprietor and his associates.

The Gay Alliance Towards Equality (GATE) completes the list of formal associations within the Edmonton community. GATE is a public organization dedicated to working towards an improvement in the situation of the gay person, in whatever way possible and is loosely affiliated with other activist/community service organizations across Canada.[18] Although not connected with the university, many of its most active members are university students. Given the small size of Edmonton's activist population the organization combines both political and community service functions. Its activities include both efforts directed towards bringing about change in the larger society through educational and political means, as well as the provision of services to members of the gay community.

While GATE has avoided most actions which would alienate itself from the larger community, it has not been successful in overcoming totally the negative image which many gay people hold of 'activist' groups, or in attracting a high degree of financial and social support from the surrounding community. While many benefit from its services few, in turn, support its activities.

These three types of institutions comprise the public parameters of the gay community in Edmonton.[19] In addition to these settings, which are found in most cities of any size, larger centres are able to support a set of specialized institutions and groups which have not yet appeared in Edmonton. These would include gay book shops, a greater variety of bars and meeting places catering to special interest populations; branches of the Canadian Gay Academic Union; religious organizations, including the Metropolitan Community Church (Perry, 1972; Enroth and Jamieson, 1974), Dignity (gay catholics) and Gay Jewish groups; and in Vancouver, a branch of the Court System.[20]

Chapter 3 has provided a brief review of the gay marginal situation, focusing on the nature of the potential difficulties encountered and identifying some of the more salient features of this situation, As well, a brief outline of the public institutions found in Edmonton was given. Chapters 4 and 5 deal with analysis of data and discussion of consequences related to living in a marginal situation.

Chapter 3 Footnotes

1. Weinberg (1973) has suggested that these negative attitudes are rooted in a number of related sources - religious influences, repressed envy, the secret fear of being homosexual, the threat to dominant values posed by the existence of the homosexual, and anxieties about existence without vicarious immortality. While all these factors play a part in the general public's negative views, special note should be taken of the issue of value conflict. While rarely articulated in a coherent fashion by gay spokesmen (and perhaps only dimly realized by many, gay or straight) a gay life style does appear to imply a negation, not only of a specific feature of the present social structure (Weinberg's "Marriage", "A Good Job", "A Good Family Name", "Money) but also of the complete system of which these are but visible manifestations. To the degree that our society rests upon an institutionalized sexism, homosexuality is a potential radical force in that society, and thus perhaps threatening to many. See for example, Out of the Closets: The Voices of Gay Liberation (Jay and Young, 1972).

2. Oppression is defined as a condition obtaining "when those holding authority systematical impose burdens and penalties upon relatively powerless segments of a society" (Humphreys, 1972:15). Without denying that gays are oppressed the term preferred is patterns of exclusion in that it seems to reflect more accurately both the theoretical orientation of this paper as well as the nature of the situation faced by gay people in Canada, as opposed to that which they encounter in the United States.

3. Homophile newspapers and magazines are a significant source of information for anyone wishing to understand the state and concerns of the gay community. The most important Canadian publication is The Body Politic, Canada a 'national homophile' newspaper, which is published in Toronto. Other publications include Espirit, Gay Tide (Vancouver), Gay West (Saskatoon), Gay Times (Montreal), and a number of newsletters sponsored by a variety of groups, for example, "Gay Rising" (GATE Toronto) and "New Beginnings" (Metropolitan Community Church, Ottawa). A similar range of publications are also to be found in the United States, with the Advocate being the most widely distributed and best known.

4. The relevant sections of the criminal code are as follows:

   Section 155: Everyone who commits buggery or bestiality is guilty of an indictable offence and is liable to imprisonment for fourteen years

   Section 157: Everyone who commits an act of gross indecency with another person is guilty of an indictable offence and is liable to imprisonment for five years.

   Section 158: (1) Sections 155 and 157 do not apply to any act committed in private between (a) a husband and wife, or
   (b) any two persons, each of who is twenty one years or more of age, both of who consent to the commission of the act.

It should be noted that many American jurisdictions are in the process of or have recently revised their statutes dealing with homosexual acts, with 14 states no longer penalizing such activities (as of April 1,1976 - Advocate, April 30, 1976:8).

5. Although governmental spokesmen have at times claimed that existing human rights legislation is adequate to protect all such does not seem totally accurate. In two cases raised by Gays for Equality (GFE), a Winnipeg activist group the Manitoba Human Rights Commission ruled that nothing could be done in that the Human Rights Act did not include protection for those discriminated against on the basis of sexual orientation (Body Politic, Jan/Feb., 1975). At present Toronto remains the only Canadian jurisdiction which bars discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in the hiring and firing of city employees (resolution passed October, 1973), although a test of the British Columbia legislation is under review at the moment. In this case a Board of Inquiry has ruled (January, 1976) that the provincial Human Rights Code provides protection to gay people by deciding that the Vancouver Sun had unjustifiably discriminated against gays by refusing to accept an advertisement for the paper Gay Tide,which is published by the Gay Alliance Towards Equality (GATE, Vancouver). The Sun has appealed the ruling to the British Columbia Supreme Court.

6. For example, there would appear to be some evidence that the city of Montreal is attempting to 'clean up' its image in preparation for the 1976 Olympic Games, a program which involves the systematic harrasment of gay bars and baths (Body Politic, July/Aug. 1975). Evidence also exists that certain gay organizations, specifically Gays of Ottawa, have been the object of "police surveillence." The arrest, amid large scale publicity, of a number of Ottawa males as part of the crackdown on a "male homosexual ring", charges which have proven to be grossly exaggerated (Vancouver Sun, March 16, 1976:14) provides another example (Body Politic, July/Aug., 1975).

On the other hand, concern with parking violations would appear to be a more individualized activity. In at least one jurisdiction (Vancouver) police department policy has openly begun to oppose such practices. (Conversation with Vancouver gay activist spokesperson).

7. A tentative list of the topics which Gays of Ottawa felt should be included in an examination of gays and the law included:

   a. sections of the criminal code dealing with buggery and bestiality, gross indecency, indecent assault on a male, indecent assault on a female, public nudity, dangerous sexual offenders, vagrancy, corruption of children, and obscenity.
   b. homosexuality as grounds for divorce, custody of children, provincial regulations and practices concerning adoption.
   c. regulations concerning the immigration and deportation of gays.
   d. security and employment in the public service.
   e. municipal and provincial laws concerning drinking, licensing of gay clubs, park closing laws, trespassing, vagrancy and loitering laws, regulations concerning credit, insurance and bonding. (Position paper, GO, National Gay Rights Conference, Summer, 1976)

8. The Damien Case involved the firing of John Damien from his job as Steward with the Ontario Racing Commission, a position he had held satisfactorily since 1969, on the grounds that he was a homosexual. or in the words of the Racing Commission Chairman, Charles McNaughton, "What do you expect? He's a faggot." It should be noted that at no time was there any suggestion that his being gay had impaired his ability to discharge his duties adequately. Damien refused an offer of $1,200 in exchange for a letter of resignation and is presently suing the individuals and groups involved in his dismissal for $1,350,000. (Body Politic, May/June, 1975). One can only applaud his courage in fighting for his rights and wonder at the mentality which would offer a man making more than $30,000 annually $700 (the original figure later raised to $1,200) in exchange for a letter of resignation. It should be noted, however, that one strong factor in encouraging him to fight the case was the fact that, given the specialized nature of his job and the closed fraternity in which he worked he had little to lose by"going public". That is, by keeping quiet he could not have guaranteed himself an equivalent position (being already at the top) or even any other job in racing since gossip would travel quite quickly (Personal conversation with John Damien).

9. Kinsey's data suggests significant variations in sexual expression during the life cycle (Kinsey et. al., 1948). More recently Whitman (1975) has argued that homosexual object choice, like its heterosexual counterpart, is an inherent emergent property of the individual.

10. Despite contrary stereotypes various sources have estimated that only a small minority of the gay community displays physical characteristics or mannerisms which would lead to their identification as gay. Both Westwood (1960) and Pomeroy (1968) suggest a figure about 15 percent. My own estimation would be somewhat lower, particularly if one considers as visible only those individuals who are recognizable despite their attempts not to be.

11. Barriers may be either "transcended" or "permeated". The former involves deception as in the case of the Negro who passes for white; the latter, acceptance despite whatever devalued attributes one may hold, for example, individual women of high ability who attain positions of power and authority.

12. In Goffman's terms the homosexual is in possession of a discreditable as opposed to a discredited identity, and is thus faced with the problem of information control in his passing activies. One possible consequence of this situation is a high level of anxiety on the part of the passer - anxiety and dread which arises from the possibility that his social fabrication may collapse and at any moment exposing his true self, with all the negative consequences that this would entail. Most gay people appear to have little difficulty in coping with this type of situation - in part because of their intimate knowledge of the culture within which they pass. As one respondent stated: "We don't have to tell white social lies. We act them out continually instead." While there may be psychic costs involved in hiding a gay identity, these do not seem to arise from difficulties involved in the process of concealment itself.

13. Regardless of the particular racial/ethnic or socio-economic environment within which the individual is raised his home enrivonment is most usually a heterosexual one. For the sample under study this milieu was also caucasion and largely middle-class. It is to this background that one refers in speaking of the dominant society.

14. A distinction should perhaps be made between the existence of gay subcultures and the utilization of the idea of subculture as an explanation for behavior engaged in by gay people. It would appear that too often behavior patterns explained as subcultural might be more readily and legitimately attributed to other characteristics of the individuals involved. That is, in discussions of life styles it is possible that we have overemphasized individuals' gayness and paid too little attention to age, marital status, and socio-economic variables as determinants of behavior.

For further discussion of subcultures see Arnold (1967).

15. While any attempt to estimate numbers of gay people poses insurmountable difficulties, not the least of which is attempting to define the population conceptually, there is little reason to believe that Edmonton differs drastically from other areas in terms of proportion of gays. With that assumption, and allowing for a certain degree of error in existing estimates of gay populations, one can suggest that the male gay population in Edmonton ranges between five and fifteen thousand, with the female at least half of that. Given these figures the limited extent of public structures and organizations becomes even more apparent.

16. In this sample approximately 97 percent of the males and 95 percent of the females reported visiting gay bars, with three quarters attending at least once a month and one third going at least once a week or more.

17. For example, half of the respondents report that they visit the baths less than several times a year, with 26 percent stating that they never went there.

18. Gay activism is usually seen as a relatively recent social movement, its origins marked by the "Stonewall Riots" in New York City on June 28-20, 1969, and the subsequent formation of the Gay Liberation Front, (Teal, 1971). The Coalition for Gay Rights in Ontario suggests that August 26, 1971 marks the inception of the gay rights struggle in Canada, with rallies in Ottawa and Vancouver outlining demands for changes in federal legislation. Tom Warner (GATE, Toronto, unpublished paper), however, dates the Canadian movement as beginning in 1969. Prior to this, however, gay associations were in existence in both the United States (the Mattachine Society, Society for Individual Rights, Daughters of Bilitis) and Canada(Community Homophile Association of Toronto). There also existed an active homosexual rights movement in Europe prior to the rise of Nazism and the second World War

(Lauritsen and Thorstad, 1974). The present movement could therefore more accurately be seen as a rebirth, rather than a totally new phenomenon.

Writing about the American situation Altman (1971:118-119) suggests that gay liberation groups are distinguishable from "old line associations" not on militancy but:

> rather that gay liberation advances beyond the civil rights liberalism of the earlier groups;...No longer is the claim made that gay people can fit into American society, that they are as decent, as patriotic, as clean-living as anyone else. Rather, it is argued, it is the American society itself that needs to change.

In viewing the Canadian Gay Rights Movement, a distinction could be made between those individuals primarily interested in the provision of social services to the gay community (drop-in-centres, counselling) and those concerned with political issues on a larger scale (Lobbying for civil rights, consciousness raising). Often these individuals are found within the same organization making the classification of groups into activist or traditional somewhat difficult. While some organizations place greater stress upon policies of confrontation and others upon working within the system, whenever possible, the ultimate goal remains the same, namely, personal and social liberation.

19. Like most cities Edmonton also has a network of public cruising spots which provide a meeting place for the establishment of socio-sexual contacts. While not formally organized, such recurrent patterns of interaction are sufficiently stable to be seen as institutional arrangements, if desired.

20. The court system is a unique part of the public gay found in the Western area of North America, with the only Canadian branch in Vancouver. The nearest parallel in conventional society would be systems of secret lodges and fraternaties, ostensibly designed to fulfil community service functions but which seem to exist primarily to satisfy members needs for social status, and recognization. (Frazier, 1957). The court system tends to embarass many gay people. As indicative of the respect with which it is held in some quarters, one gay activist described a court function as "resembling a high school prom attended by members of the Social Credit Woman's Auxiliary." The court system is perhaps most noteworthy as evidence of the degree to which some gay people feel excluded from meaningful roles in the larger society and thus compelled to seek recognition within a fantasy world of their own.

CHAPTER 4

PRESENTATION OF DATA

Data analysis was based upon completed questionnaires returned by 142 gay males.[1] While it is not possible to obtain a random sample of a gay population, given the absence of known population parameters, attempts were made to gather the sample from as wide a range of sources as possible. Questionnaires were distributed at three locations within the Edmonton community - a gay bath, a gay social club, and an activist community service organization (GATE) - as well as by means of individual handouts. The objective was to obtain a purposive sample, the members of which exhibited sufficient variation on the major variables under study, most specifically on their degree of involvement with other gay people.

The primary forms of data analysis employed were cross-tabulations and analysis of variance. Data were run using the programs contained in the SPSS (Nie, 1975). Unless otherwise indicated the number of cases was 142. Division of respondents into high-low or high-medium-low was made with the objective of equalizing the number of cases in each division in the majority of situations. This policy was followed since no natural breaks were readily apparent in the distribution of responses for many variables.

NATURE OF THE SAMPLE

Table 4.1 provides information on the response rate obtained at various locations. This rate is comparable to others reported in the literature (Myrick, 1974; Weinberg and Williams, 1974; Farrell and Morrione, 1974). While one would have preferred a larger sample, the nature of the population under study, including the prevailing social climate and the private

Table 4.1. Distribution of the Questionnaire

Location	Number taken	Number returned	Percent returned	Non-usable*	Female	Bi-Males	Gay Males
Baths	150	84	56.0	8	0	7	69
Clubs	81	41	50.6	1	8	4	28
GATE	58	40	69.3	1	10	0	29
Other**	52	21	40.4	3	1	1	16
Total	341	186	54.5	13	19	12	142

* Includes 3 incompletes, 4 heterosexual males, and 6 questionnaires from outside the Edmonton area.

** Includes individual handouts and some taken by acquaintances for distribution.

informal nature of most members' socialization patterns makes the gathering of any sample a difficult and time consuming process. The number of respondents finally obtained compares favorably with those reported in other studies of similar scope.

Table 4.2 provides an overview description of respondent characteristics. The sample as a whole is somewhat over represented by individuals of high socio-economic status, a not surprising result given the length of the questionnaire and the voluntary nature of its completion. Additionally, the sample would appear to be primarily composed of individuals who score relatively high on the various measures of psychological and social adjustment. There would appear to be few significant differences among respondents who obtained the questionnaire at different locations (Table 4.3). This finding is in accord with Weinberg's (1970) discussion of non-clinical samples of gay people. With respect to memberships in gay organizations (Table 4.2) the high percentage of respondents holding such memberships is less significant than it first appears. In the majority of cases membership is in a gay social club and signifies only that the individual can enter the premises for an evenings drinking at a reduced rate. Data analysis similar to that reported in Tables 4.4 to 4.7 reveals few differences between members and non-members.

Tables 4.4 to 4.7 provide further information on sub-populations of the sample divided by age, membership in GATE, socio-economic status, and frequency of attendance at gay baths, respectively.

Age

A summary comparison of age related differences for the sample (Table 4.4) reveals that older gay people tend to have higher incomes,

Table 4.2. Characteristics of the Sample: Gay Males

Characteristics	Number of cases	Percent*
Age (range: 17-75: median = 27.4 years)		
less than 25	52	36.4
26-35	55	38.5
36 or more	45	23.9
Education		
less than high school graduate	17	12.0
high school graduate	18	12.7
some university or business school	51	35.7
university graduate	56	39.4
Income		
less than $5,000	13	9.2
$5,000 to $10,999	49	34.5
$11,000 to $16,999	52	36.6
$17,000 plus	28	19.8
Marital Status		
never married	119	83.8
married	9	6.3
other	14	9.8
Religious Affiliation		
Protestant	56	39.5
Roman Catholic	34	23.9
Others	19	13.4
None	33	23.2
Organizational Memberships		
Membership in heterosexual association	98	69.0
Membership in gay association	87	61.3
Occupations**		
professional	19	13.4
semi-professional	11	7.7
managerial - large	8	5.6
managerial - small	17	12.0
clerical	16	11.3
skilled	11	7.7
semi-skilled	4	2.8
unskilled	8	5.6
farmers	2	1.4
students	11	7.7
no answer / unclassifiable	35	24.6

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* Due to the rounding of figures, percentages do not always total 100. (N=142).

** Classified according to Pineo and Porter (1967).

Table 4.3. Characteristics of the Sample by Point of Origin

Characteristics	Point of Origin Baths	Gate	Gay Bars	Other	Level of Significance X^2
	percentages				
Less than 35 years of age	73.9	89.7	67.9	68.7	n.s.
Income greater than $14,000	44.9	13.8	25.7	43.8	.024
University graduate	43.5	37.9	28.6	43.8	n.s.
Reads gay Literature	30.4	44.8	21.8	43.8	n.s.
High in gay participation	52.2	51.7	39.3	50.0	n.s.
High in conventional participation	56.5	34.5	42.9	50.0	n.s.
Frequently visits gay bars	49.2	75.9	64.3	37.5	.014
Frequently visits gay baths	58.8	6.9	14.3	31.3	.001
High in commitment to a gay identity	44.9	44.8	53.6	50.0	n.s.
High in acceptance of negative stereotypes	24.6	17.2	28.6	25.0	n.s.
High in self-esteem	60.9	37.9	42.9	50.0	n.s.
High in evidence of MPC	50.7	55.2	42.9	37.5	n.s.
Not bothered by being gay	42.0	37.9	46.4	50.0	n.s.
Lives with lover	14.5	13.8	7.1	31.3	n.s.
Low in life satisfaction	21.7	37.9	17.9	18.8	n.s.
Has seen psychiatrist	21.7	34.5	14.3	43.8	.093
High in self-disclosure	34.8	58.6	60.7	62.5	.026
High in experience of barriers	49.3	48.3	50.0	56.3	n.s.
High in anticipation of rejection	58.0	55.4	46.4	25.0	n.s.
	N=69	N=29	N=28	N=16	

Table 4.4. Characteristics of the Sample by Age

	Age			Level of Significance	
Characteristics	under 25	26-35	36+	X^2	Tau c
		percentages			
Income greater than $14,000	9.6	47.3	60.0	.001	.000
University graduate	21.2	58.2	37.1	.000	.018
Reads gay literature	40.4	25.5	34.3	.257	.200
High in gay participation	50.0	56.4	37.1	.204	.179
High in conventional participation	40.4	52.7	54.3	.327	.083
Frequently visits gay bars	62.5	63.6	34.3	.010	.008
Frequently visits gay baths	17.3	32.7	22.9	.301	.090
High in commitment to a gay identity	53.8	47.3	37.1	.310	.067
High in acceptance of negative stereotypes	19.2	27.3	25.7	.819	.166
High in self esteem	50.0	52.7	57.4	.960	.432
High in evidence of MPC	53.8	50.9	37.1	.282	.078
Not bothered by being gay	51.9	34.5	42.9	.464	.219
Lives with lover	15.4	12.7	22.9	.437	n.a.
Low in life satisfaction	25.0	20.0	28.6	.63	412
Has seen psychiatrist	30.8	27.3	14.3	.204	n.a.
High in self disclosure	70.6	41.4	24.4	.022	.001
High in experience of barriers to acceptance	67.3	43.6	34.3	.005	.001
High in anticipation of rejection	48.1	52.7	54.3	.825	.273
	N=52	N=55	N=35		

to visit gay bars less frequently, to be more secretive in regard to their sexual preferences, and perhaps consequently, to have experienced less rejection from the larger society. While older individuals tend to be less committed to a gay identity and to be less involved in terms of overall participation with gay others there is no evidence that they experience greater psychological turmoil than their younger compatriots. While in most cases the difference among age groups in levels of adjustment is not significant, the direction of the relationships suggests that older individuals are more at ease than are younger people. In general the findings here replicate those reported by Weinberg (1970) in his analysis of age related variations among gay populations.

GATE Membership

Examining the sample in terms of members[2] and non-members of the Gay Alliance Towards Equality, the local activist/community service organization (Table 4.5), one sees that this group is composed primarily of younger individuals (11 of whom are part or full time students), who, while committed to being gay appear to have experienced (or are experiencing) somewhat greater adjustment difficulties than the remainder of the sample. A high percentage, 8 out of 20, had seen or were seeing a psychiatrist. The somewhat greater incidence of life difficulties should not necessarily be seen as a personal failing or in a negative sense, but may simply reflect the particular role assumed by these individuals. That is, by actively questioning societal roles and values, and by engaging in activities designed to improve the social position of gay people in general they are visible targets for attacks from the larger society. For example, a larger number of members report having experienced high levels of rejection from conventional members rather than non-members.

Table 4.5. Characteristics of the Sample by GATE Membership

Characteristics	GATE Member	Non-Member	Level of significance (X^2)
	percent		
Less than 35 years of age	95.0	62.1	.004
Income greater than $14,000	20.0	39.4	.157
University graduate	55.0	36.9	.197
Reads gay literature	65.0	27.9	.003
High in gay participation	55.0	48.4	.757
High in conventional participation	45.0	49.2	.916
Frequently visits gay bars	70.0	54.1	.278
Frequently visits gay baths	15.0	39.7	.000
High in commitment to a gay identity	70.0	43.4	.049
High in acceptance of negative stereotypes	20.0	24.6	.905
High in self-esteem	40.0	53.0	.400
High in evidence of MPC	70.0	45.1	.068
High in lonliness	70.0	50.8	.516
Not bothered by being gay	45.0	42.6	.902
Lives with a lover	10.0	17.2	.528
Low in life satisfaction	40.0	21.3	.125
Has seen psychiatrist	40.0	23.0	.178
High in self disclosure	70.0	44.3	.058
High in experience of barriers	75.0	45.9	.030
High in anticipation of rejection	55.0	50.8	.916
	N=20	N=122	

Similarly, while analysis of variance reveals that members are significantly more alienated than non-members (prob. = .06), this could be interpreted as a sign of greater awareness on their part of the reality of the social situation facing gay people.

Socio-economic Status

Socio-economic status, as measured by income and education[4] tends to be related to other variables in ways that one would expect given one's knowledge of the larger society, namely, that high status is positively associated with increased personal well-being (Table 4.6). Additionally, high status individuals tend to score lower on involvement with gay others, while being more involved in conventional society, to be more discreet in disclosure of sexual orientation, and to have experienced less rejection from the larger society. While there is a significant association between socio-economic status and degree of self disclosure it would appear that much of this relationship is accountable in terms of age. Older individuals tend to be more covert, younger people more overt, regardless of socio-economic status. This finding, to the extent that it is generalizable to the larger population, points to the nature of changes which are beginning to occur within the gay community.

It is interesting to note that while there are significant differences in experienced rejection among all the categories considered in Tables 4.4 to 4.7, the degree to which individuals anticipate rejection from the larger society does not vary to any degree among the groups in question.

Baths

As stated in Chapter 3 the image of the baths within the gay community is not totally positive, a fact related to their role as facilitators of impersonal sexual gratification. For certain anti-gay writers the baths

Table 4.6. Characteristics of the Sample by Socio-Economic Status

Characteristics	Socio-economic status* low	moderate	high	Level of Significance X^2	Tau c
		Percentages			
Reads gay literature	37.5	41.5	24.6	.162	.050
High in gay participation	57.5	48.8	44.3	.428	.103
High in conventional participation	22.5	48.8	65.6	.000	.000
Frequently visits gay bars	60.0	68.3	45.9	.670	.046
Frequently visits gay baths	30.0	24.4	48.3	.050	.005
High in commitment to a gay identity	62.5	51.2	34.4	.018	.002
High in acceptance of negative stereotypes	35.0	53.7	52.5	.156	.062
High in self-esteem	45.0	51.2	55.7	.572	.149
High in evidence of MPC	55.0	46.3	45.9	.632	.207
Not bothered by being gay	42.5	51.2	37.7	.400	.256
Low in life satisfaction	37.5	19.5	18.0	.059	.010
Lives with lover	17.5	22.0	11.5	.358	n.a.
Has seen a psychiatrist	32.5	22.0	23.0	.469	n.a.
High in self-disclosure	57.5	63.4	31.1	.002	.002
High in experience of rejection	72.5	53.7	32.8	.000	.000
High in anticipation of rejection	55.0	43.8	50.8	.849	.369
High in alienation	62.5	43.9	41.0	.089	.024
Low in happiness	30.0	14.6	14.8	.113	.042
High in lonliness	70.0	51.2	44.3	.033	.008
Alienated from work	35.0	14.6	14.8	.026	.013
Culturally estranged	30.0	34.1	31.1	.916	.480
	N=40	N=41	N=60		

* A measure of socioeconomic status was provided by summation of income and education scores.

appear to epitomize much of what is wrong with homosexuals. More sympathetic portrayals of the gay community often do not mention the baths at all, or point to them in passing as institutions which have arisen and which are maintained as a consequence of societal restrictions on gay activity in more natural settings (for example, Weinberg and Williams, 1974). Table 4.3 (Characteristics of the Sample by Origin) would suggest that respondents who obtained the questionnaires at the bath do not differ from those found elsewhere except in frequency of bath attendance. Table 4.7 examines differences among respondents classified according to the degree of utilization of these facilities. Socio-economic status would appear to be the major differentiating factor among individuals varying in level of attendance. Frequent users would appear to be of higher socio-economic status, a factor which accounts for other differences, namely, greater participation with conventional others, reduced experience of rejection, and increased covertness. In the sample under study people high in bath use would appear to be somewhat less lonely, less apt to have seen a psychiatrist, more likely to report higher levels of self-esteem, and to be as involved with gay others as the remainder of the sample.

While one may dislike the baths, to overlook them as some writers do, is to ignore one of the major institutions within the male gay community. Furthermore, to conceive of their origin and function solely in terms of societal oppression and impersonal sexual gratification is only partially correct and, thus a distortion of reality. This distortion becomes greater when the negative characterization of the baths as an institution is uncritically applied to the people who frequent these establishments.[5]

Table 4.7. Characteristics of the Sample by Attendance at Gay Baths.

Characteristics		Frequency*		Level of significance	
	low	moderate	high	X^2	Tau c
		percentage			
Income greater than $11,000	47.7	52.4	77.1	.015	.005
University graduate	38.5	38.1	42.9	.892	.360
Reads gay literature	41.5	16.7	37.1	.024	.132
High in gay participation	47.7	50.0	51.4	.932	.356
High in conventional participation	41.5	45.2	65.7	.061	.018
Frequently visits gay bars	58.5	57.1	51.4	.789	.268
High in commitment to a gay identity	47.7	47.6	45.7	.980	.435
High in acceptance of negative stereotypes	47.7	42.9	54.3	.606	.341
High in self-esteem	47.7	45.2	65.7	.145	.078
High in evidence of MPC	49.2	47.6	48.6	.986	.460
Not bothered by being gay	35.4	47.6	51.4		
Low in life satisfaction	23.1	21.4	28.6	.747	.317
Lives with a lover	26.2	9.5	5.7	.011	n.a.
Has seen a psychiatrist	30.9	23.8	17.1	.316	n.a.
High in self disclosure	58.5	47.6	28.6	.017	.003
High in experience of rejection	52.3	57.1	37.1	.191	.133
High in anticipation of rejection	53.8	47.6	51.4	.820	.355
High in alienation	53.8	47.6	37.1	.280	.061
High in lonliness	58.5	54.8	42.9	.322	.082
Alienated from work	21.5	28.6	8.6	.091	.140
	N=65	N=42	N=35		

*High = several times a month or more; Moderate = several times a year to once a month; low = less often than several times a year.

THE APPEARANCE OF MARGINAL PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS

It was hypothesized that the greater the individual's identification with conventional society and the greater his perception of barriers to full acceptance in that society the greater his feelings of MPC. These relationships are outlined in Table 4.8 and figures 4.1 through 4.6. Significant differences in MPC were found among levels of identification, with the relationships in the anticipated direction, namely (Ho. 1a) the greater the identification with conventional society (acceptance of societal stereotypes)[6] the greater the MPC and (Ho. 2), the greater the identification with gay society the less the MPC (Figure 4.1).*

As hypothesized (Ho: 1b), both anticipated and experienced barriers to social acceptance are strongly associated with the development of MPC (Figure 4.3) with experienced barriers revealing a stronger relationship (r=.38 as opposed to r=.25). While anticipated and experienced barriers are only weakly related (r=.11), it should be noted that their anticipation in conjunction with their actual experience is most conducive to the development of MPC, with a significant interaction effect evident (Figure 4.4).

The experience of barriers seems most prevalent among the less educated (r=-.29) and lower income segments of the sample (r=-.32) and is associated with lower levels of participation in conventional society (r=-.23), as well as greater levels of happiness (r=.18). The anticipation of barriers is greater among those least involved with other gay people (r=.12), and is positively associated with both life dissatisfaction (r=.17) and guilt (r=.40).

The joint effects of identification with conventional society and perceived barriers to acceptance (both anticipated and experienced)

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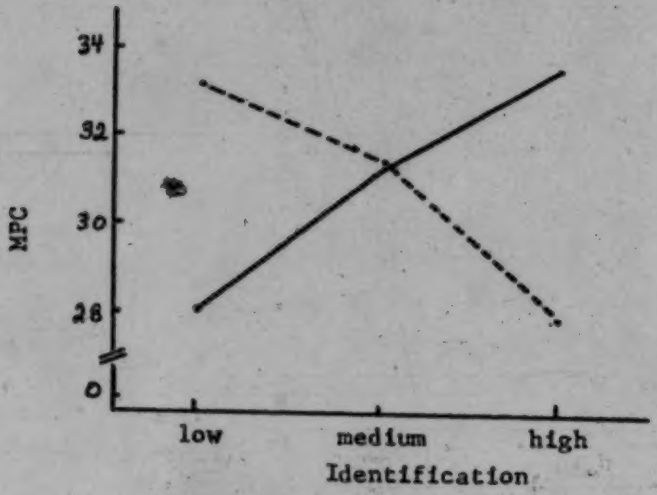
*Unless otherwise indicated values on the figures represent raw scores for the variables under consideration.



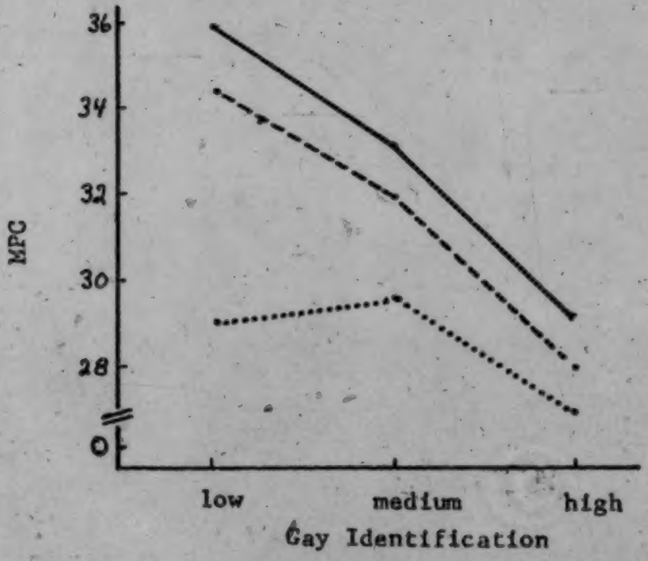
Gay Identification--------

F= 5.81 prob. 2.004

Conventional
Identification ———

F=4.88 prob. .009

Figure 4.1. Mean MPC by level of identification



Conventional Identification
low........
medium-----
high ———

ANOVA

Source	F	prob
Main	4.64	.002
Gay	4.25	.016
Conventional	3.36	.038
Interaction	.45	.771

Figure 4.2. Mean MPC by joint level of identification

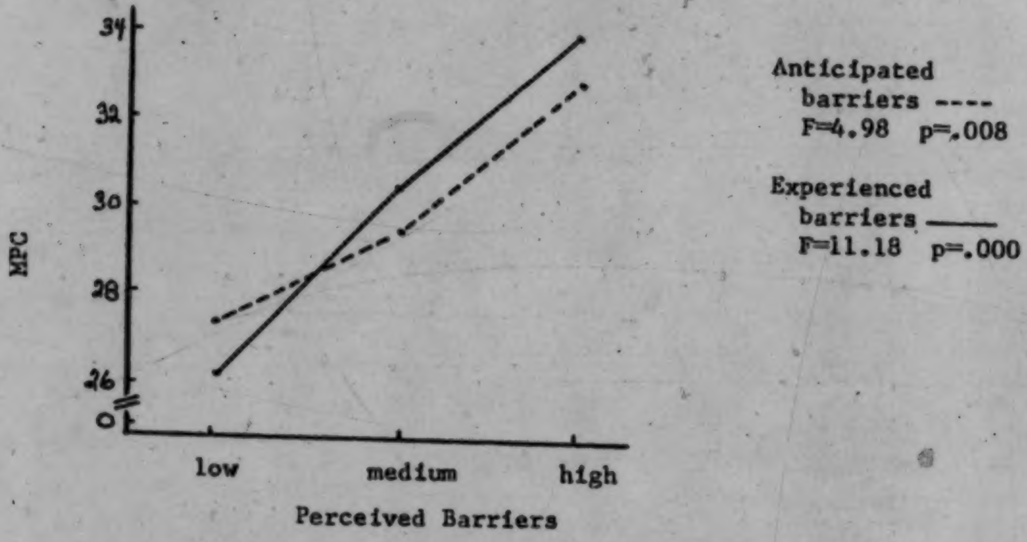
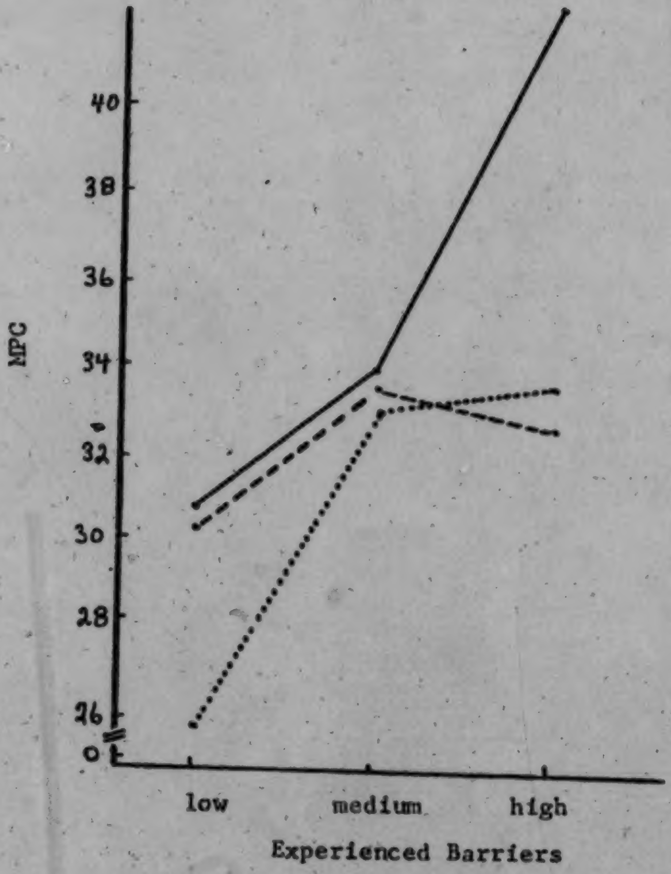


Figure 4.3. MPC by barriers to acceptance



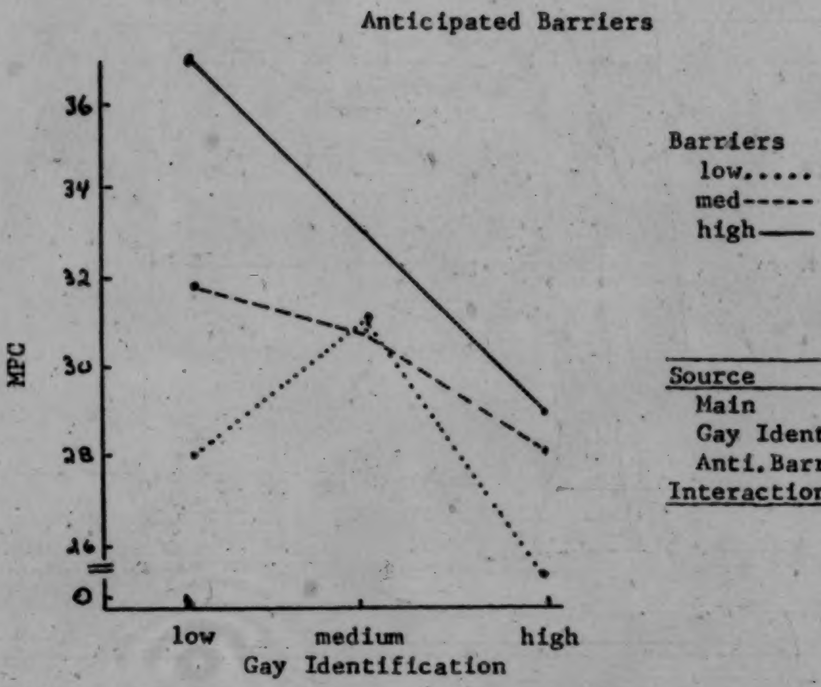
Anova		
Source	F	Prob
Main	8.87	.001
Anticipated	5.45	.005
Experienced	11.82	.001
Interactions	2.25	.067

Figure 4.4. MPC by experienced and anticipated barriers

are outlined in figure 4.5. As anticipated the development of MPC is most pronounced in those individuals who are high on identification with conventional society and also high on the degree to which they anticipate or have experienced barriers to acceptance in that society. Only in those cases where individuals score high on one or other of these variables is the average level of MPC above the mean for the total population. Figure 4.6 presents the similar set of relationships between anticipated and experienced barriers and identification with gay others. High levels of acceptance of one's sexual orientation are effective in reducing psychological dis-ease arising from rejection by the larger society. Most perturbed are those individuals who perceive high rejection from the larger society in conjunction with low commitment to being gay.

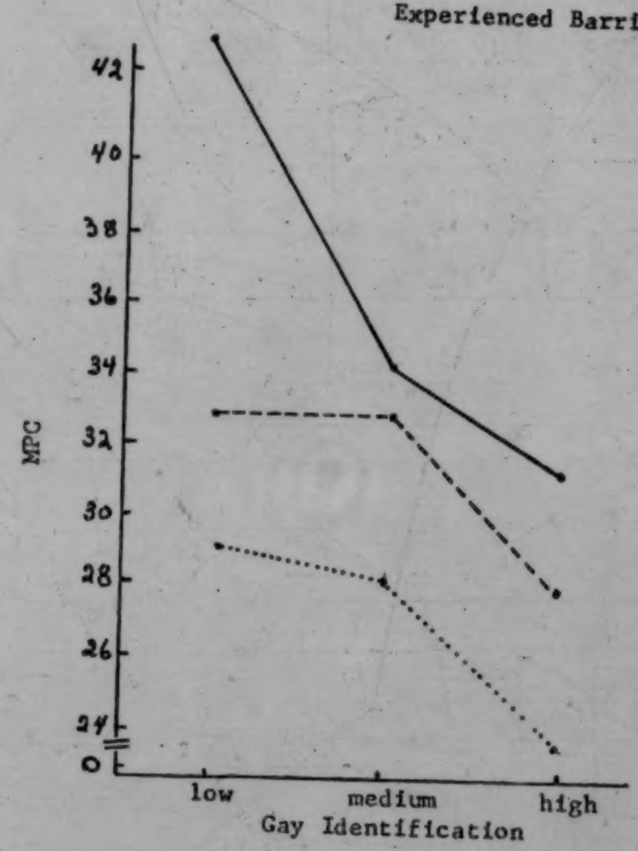
Hypothesis 3, that individuals who are strongly identified with two conflicting social orders would be most likely to reveal evidence of MPC, was not supported by the data (Figure 4.2). This would suggest that cultural conflict taken by itself is of minor significance in the development of MPC, at least for this sample of gay males.

In summary the data presented suggest that for gay people, as with others in a marginal situation, the experience of psychological marginality is a function of their perception of rejection from the larger society and their patterns of identification with society. High levels of commitment to a gay identity are effective in reducing feelings of marginality. There would appear no sign that MPC is more evident in individuals highly accepting of societal perspectives while simultaneously strongly identified with being gay.



Anova

Source	F	prob
Main	5.76	.001
Gay Ident.	6.19	.003
Anti.Barr.	5.37	.006
Interactions	.877	.480



Anova		
Source	F	prob
Main	12.15	.001
Gay Ident.	11.24	.001
Exper. Barr.	17.02	.001
Interactions	1.726	.148

Figure 4.6. MPC by barriers and gay identification

CONCOMITANTS OF SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

Participation Patterns and MPC

It was hypothesized (Ho: 4a, 4b) that involvement with other gay people would be inversely related to the development of MPC while participation in conventional society would be directly associated with signs of MPC. Such was not the case. While different levels of participation are significantly associated with variations in MPC, both forms of involvement are inversely related to the development of MPC, as can be seen in Figure 4.7 (conventional participation and MPC: r= -.28; gay participation and MPC r= -.10). Figure 4.7 suggests that involvement within the gay community is non-linearly related to MPC with the extremes of high and low participation being associated with greater evidence of MPC, a finding which lends support to Weinberg and Williams' (1974) view that while a certain degree of involvement with other gay people is necessary for overall adjustment, increasing participation would appear to have minimal incremental effect in promoting adjustment.

Figure 4.8 examines the joint relationship between types of participation. Contrary to original anticipation, highest levels of MPC are found among those individuals low in both types of participation and lowest levels among those individuals who are highly involved in both gay and straight society. An interaction effect is found between levels of participation and their effect on the development of MPC. Significantly less psychologically marginal are those individuals who combine a high level of conventional participation with at least a moderate amount of involvement in gay community life. Of particular interest is the relatively high MPC found among those individuals high on involvement with other gay people

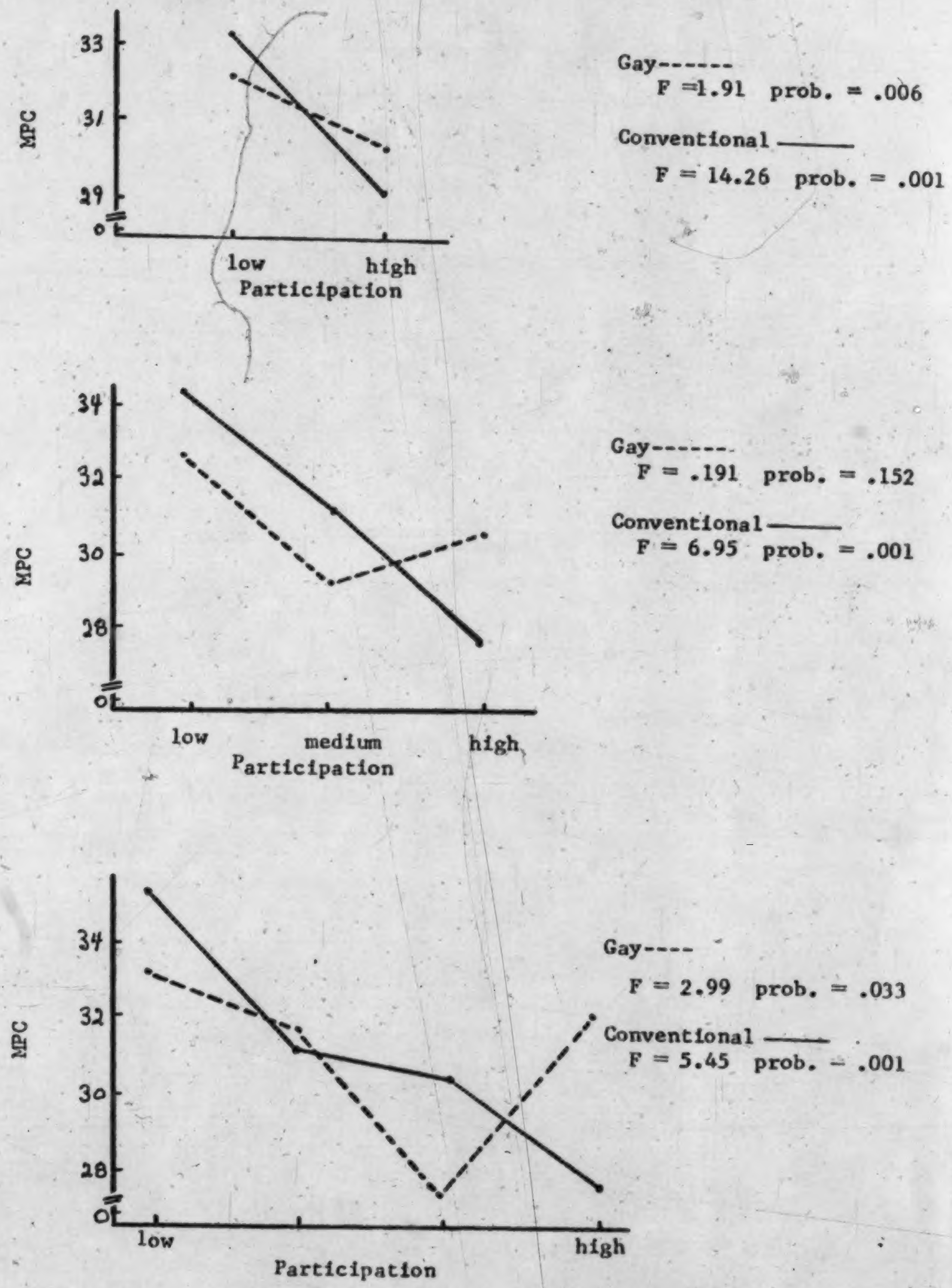
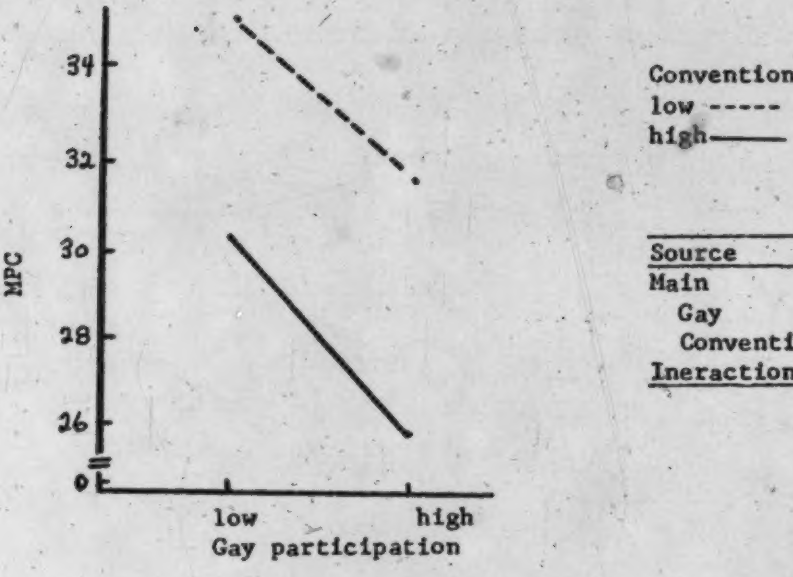
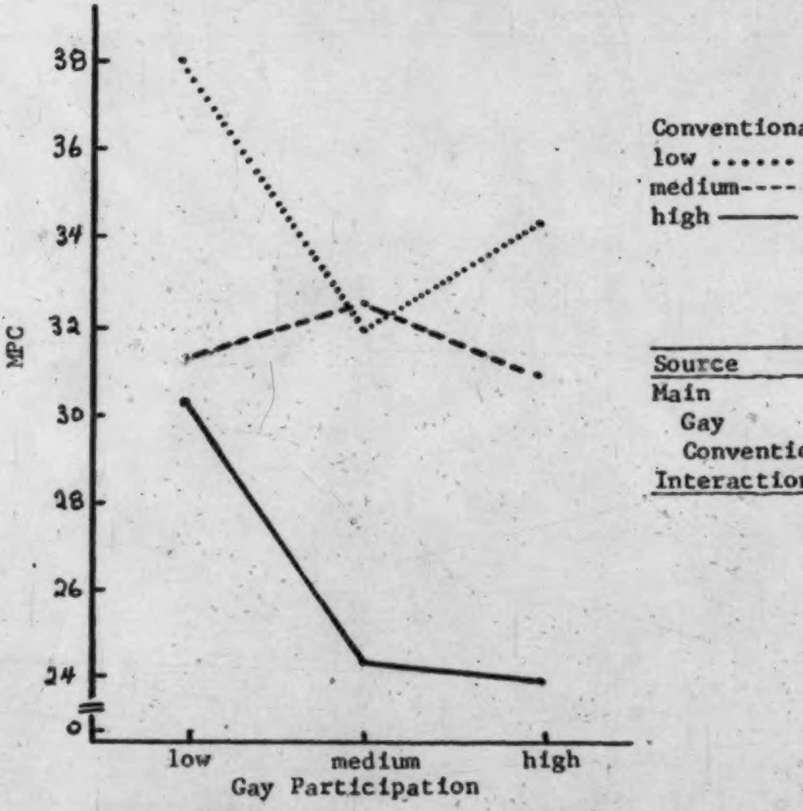


Figure 4.7. MPC by participation with gay and conventional others (2, 3 and 4 way divisions).



Anova		
Source	F	prob.
Main	8.78	.001
Gay	7.89	.006
Conventional	14.26	.001
Ineraction	.12	.730



Anova		
Source	F.	prob.
Main	5.27	.001
Gay	3.15	.046
Conventional	8.36	.001
Interaction	2.10	.084

Figure 4.8. MPC by joint participation with gay and conventional others (2 and 3 way divisions).

yet low on involvement with conventional society, a finding supportive of Myrick's (1974) contention that participation with gay society, to the extent it interfers with more conventional social ties may have detrimental effects on the person.

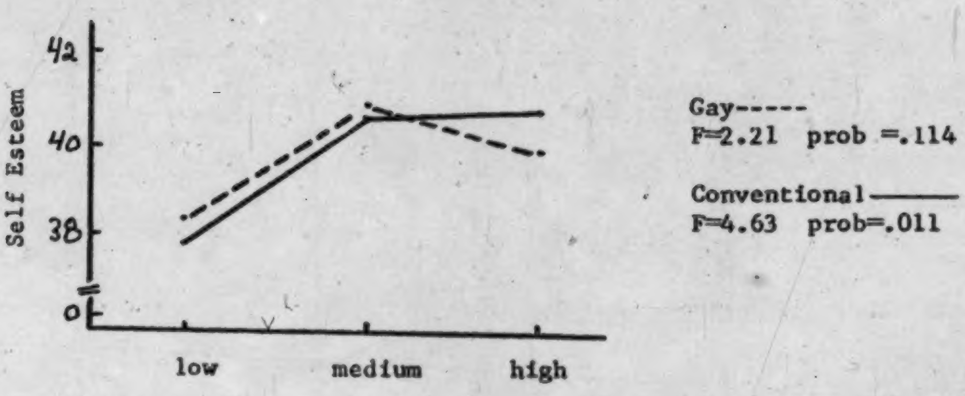
Participation Patterns and Adjustment

A further examination of concomitants of social participation is provided in Tables 4.8 to 4.10, and in Figures 4.9 through 4.11. In general, individuals more involved with gay others tend to be more commited to and open about their sexual orientation, and to have experienced more rejection from the larger society but to anticipate less. There would appear to be few differences in terms psychological well-being, except in the area of guilt, with high participators feeling significantly less guilty than those more peripherally involved (Tables 4.9 and 4.10).

Examining individuals in terms of their involvement with conventional others suggests that high participators tend to have experienced less rejection and to be more covert in revealing their sexual orientation. Psychologically, those individuals high in conventional participation tend to be less alienated, to have more stable self-concepts, to score higher in self-esteem and life-satisfaction, and to display a lower level of MPC (Tables 4.9 and 4.11).

Figures 9 and 10 outline the relationships between measures of adjustment (self-esteem, self-stability, alienation and life-satisfaction) and conventional and gay involvement. These figures, as well as other data reported in the tables, suggest that personal and social adjustment among gay males is more strongly influenced by the contacts they have

Self-Esteem



Self-Stability

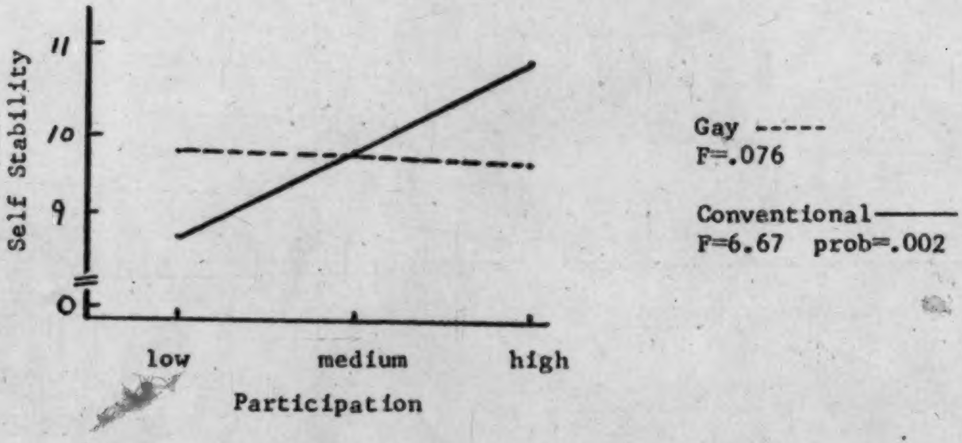
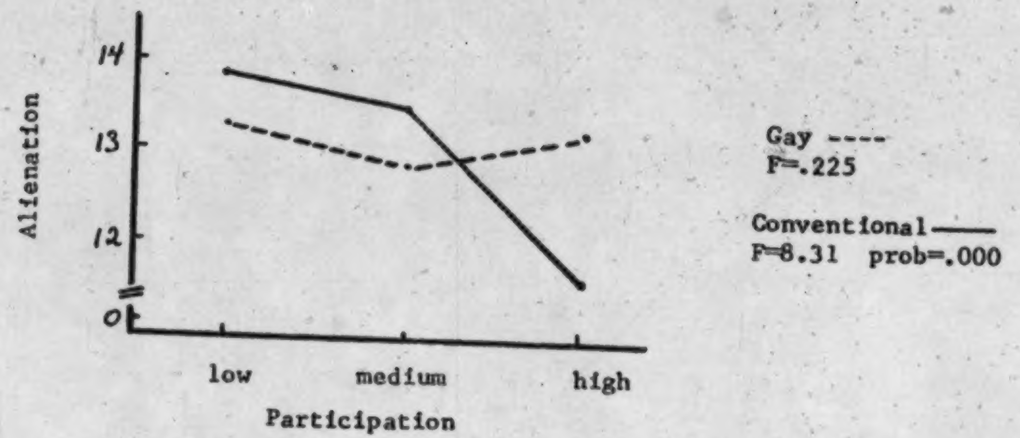


Figure 4.9. Psychological adjustment by participation with gay and conventional others (continued next page)

Alienation



Life-Satisfaction

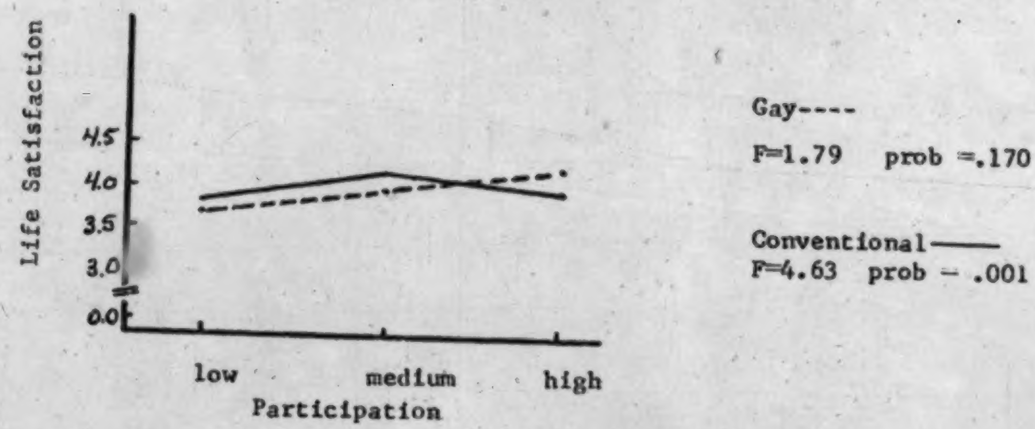


Figure 4.9. Adjustment by participation (cont.)

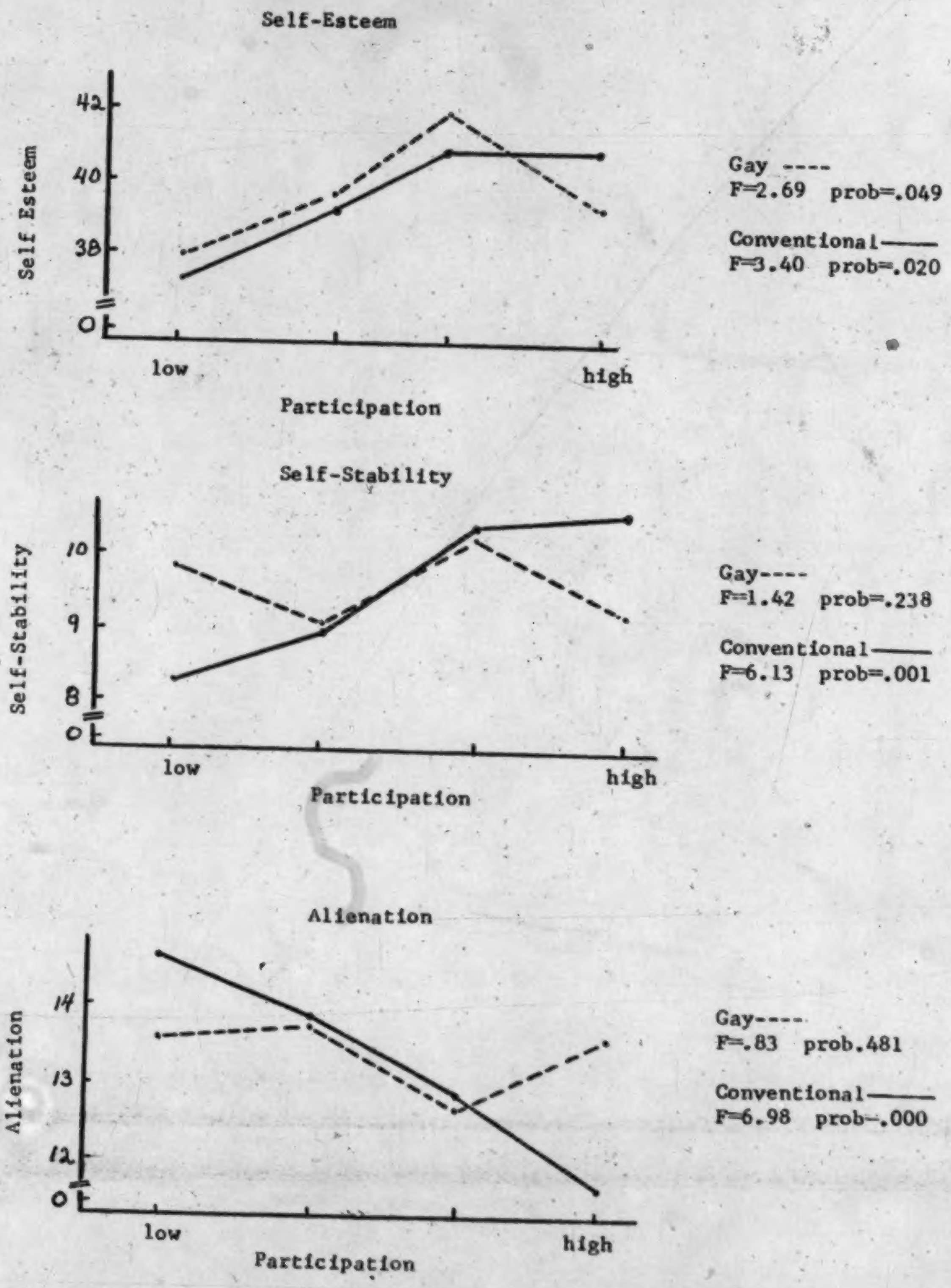


Figure 4.10. Psychological adjustment by participation with gay and conventional others (4-way division)

Table 4.8. Mean MPC Values by Socio-psychological Characteristics

Characteristics	Level of Variable Low	 Medium	 High	F 2,139	Level of significance
Identification with conventional society	28.4	31.9	33.8	4.88	.009
Identification with gay society	33.6	31.8	28.0	5.81	.004
Anticipated barriers to acceptance	28.5	30.7	34.1	4.98	.008
Experienced barriers to acceptance	27.3	31.7	35.1	11.18	.000
Participation in gay society	32.7	29.4	31.8	1.91	.152
Participation in society	34.3	31.4	27.9	6.95	.001
Age*	32.3	31.4	29.5	1.16	.316
Socio-economic status	34.1	30.4	29.6	3.22	.043

* Low = 25 or less; medium = 26-35; high = 36 or more

Table 4.9. Mean Values of Selected Variables by Gay and Conventional Participation

Variables	Gay Participation					Conventional Participation				
	low	moderate	high	$F_{2,139}$	prob F	low	moderate	high	$F_{2,139}$	prob F
MPC	32.7	29.4	31.8	1.91	.152	34.3	31.4	27.9	6.95	.001
Self-esteem	38.7	41.1	40.1	2.21	.114	38.0	41.0	41.0	4.63	.011
Alienation	13.8	13.4	13.7	.225	.789	14.4	14.1	12.1	8.51	.000
Self-stability	9.9	9.9	9.7	.076	.920	8.9	9.9	10.9	6.67	.002
Life satisfaction	3.9	4.2	4.3	1.79	.171	3.7	4.4	4.2	4.39	.014
Personal happiness	2.0	2.1	2.2	1.85	.162	1.9	2.2	2.1	3.40	.036
Self-disclosure	6.9	7.1	8.5	9.42	.000	8.0	7.2	7.3	2.10	.126
Acceptance of societal stereotypes	5.9	4.9	5.6	2.81	.060	5.4	5.5	5.5	.007	.993
Guilt	2.4	1.9	1.6	7.02	.001	2.0	1.9	2.0	.396	.673
Anticipated barriers	8.3	7.9	7.1	4.99	.008	7.6	8.1	7.6	1.11	.332
Experienced barriers	16.6	16.2	18.9	3.03	.052	19.4	17.4	14.7	8.19	.000
Commitment to a gay identity	6.2	7.6	7.8	7.31	.001	7.5	7.5	6.6	2.34	.100

Table 4.10. Social and Psychological Variables by Gay Participation

Variables	Level of Participation Low	Moderate	High	Significance X^2	Tau c
Social Relations		Percentage			
Anticipates high level of rejection	70.8	49.0	33.3	.001	.000
Feels most people dislike gays	68.8	71.4	55.6	.228	.100
Feels most would make life difficult	47.9	42.9	24.4	.052	.011
Feels many would break off relations	58.3	38.8	26.7	.007	.001
Has experienced high levels of rejection	39.6	40.8	71.1	.003	.001
High on self-disclosure	33.3	40.8	71.1	.001	.000
High on acceptance of stereotypes	60.4	32.7	51.1	.021	.167
Feels society is good as is	62.5	36.7	44.4	.034	.037
High in gay identification	27.1	49.0	66.7	.001	.000
Psychological aspects					
High in self-concept stability	64.6	65.3	57.8	.711	.254
High in self-esteem	41.7	57.1	55.6	.249	.087
High in alienation	56.3	33.8	48.9	.224	.236
High in life satisfaction	72.9	83.7	80.0	.420	.195
Feels happy about life	77.1	81.6	84.4	.658	.183
High in guilt feelings	43.8	24.5	26.2	.001	.000
Has seen psychiatrist	27.1	18.4	31.1	.345	n.a.

Table 4.11. Social and Psychological Variables by Conventional Participation

Variables	Level of Participation			Significance	
	Low	Moderate	High	X^2	Tau c
Social Relations		Percentage			
Anticipates high level of rejection	50.0	57.1	46.7	.580	.385
Feels most people dislike gays	70.8	69.4	55.6	.235	.063
Feels most would make life difficult	33.3	44.9	37.8	.499	.320
Feels many would break off relations	33.3	44.9	46.7	.360	.094
Has experienced high levels of rejection	68.8	46.9	33.3	.003	.000
High on self-disclosure	64.6	42.9	35.6	.014	.002
High on acceptance of stereotypes	39.6	53.1	51.1	.361	.129
Feels society is good as is	56.3	51.0	33.3	.069	.014
Psychological aspects					
High in self-concept stability	45.8	65.3	77.8	.006	.001
High in self-esteem	35.4	65.3	53.3	.013	.037
High in alienation	60.4	53.1	28.9	.007	.000
High in life satisfaction	55.7	83.7	86.7	.037	.009
Feels happy about life	70.8	81.6	91.1	.045	.007
High in quilt feelings	39.5	34.6	23.4	.022	.044
Has seen psychiatrist	31.3	26.5	17.8	.319	n.a.

with conventional as opposed to non-conventional others.[7]

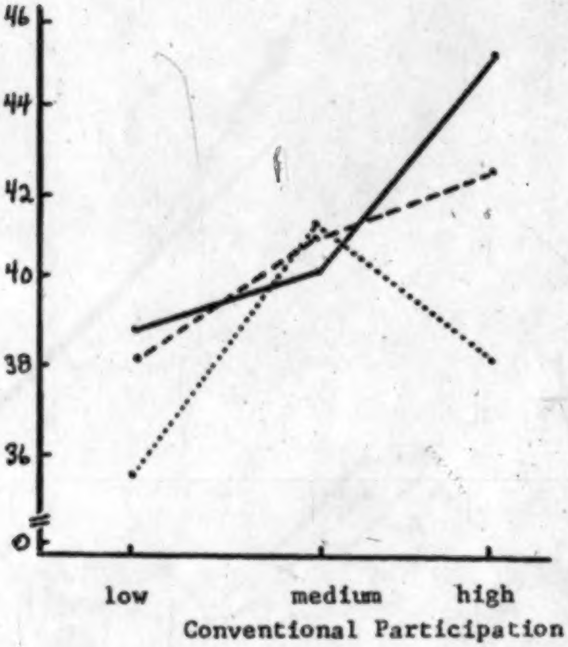
While it is true that a minimal level of outside contact is associated with lower adjustment, increasing levels of such contact beyond a moderate point does not appear to have an increasingly positive effect upon the individual. Two exceptions to this general statement are apparent. Increasing involvement with gay others is associated with greater self-disclosure. Increased openness about oneself may reflect greater personal acceptance and thus be seen as a sign of positive adjustment.[8] Similarly increased participation with gay others is associated with lessened feelings of guilt about one's sexual orientation.

Figure 4.11 illustrates the relationships among measures of social adjustment mentioned earlier and joint levels of social participation. Of particular interest are the sub-figures dealing with self-esteem and self-stability. While the interaction between types of participation does not reach high levels of significance, the data points to the fact that the highest level of self-acceptance and self-stability are to be found among individuals who combine high levels of involvement with both conventional and non-conventional society.

OVERT RESPONSES TO A MARGINAL SITUATION

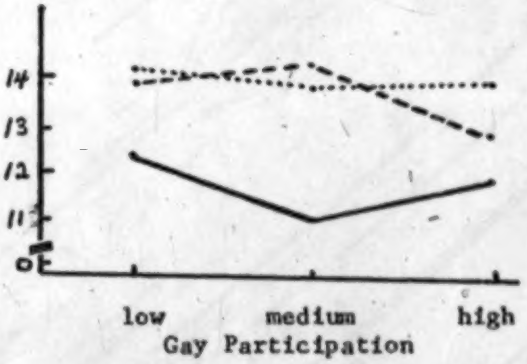
Life within a hostile social environment may have a dehabilitating effect upon the indivdual and his patterns of social relations. Allport (1954), for example, suggested that a number of personality and behavior traits, ("traits due to victimization") found among minority group members could be traced to the common experience of living in a hostile social environment. Seaman (1958) applied a similar view in his discussion of intellectuals, while Hooker (1956) sought to account for behavior among gay people within this frame of reference. It may

Self-Esteem



Anova		
Source	F.	prob
Main Effects	4.12	.004
Gay	3.37	.037
Conventional	5.84	.004
Interaction	1.61	.177

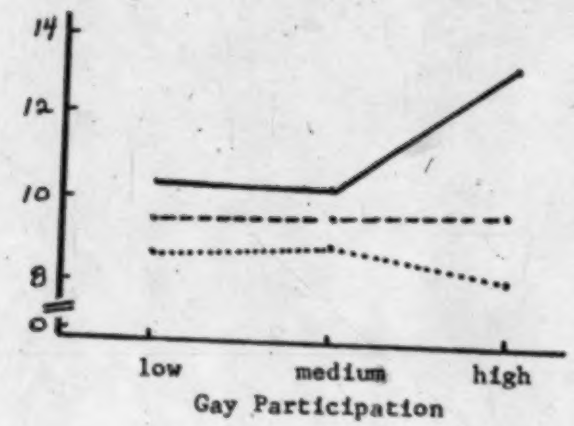
Alienation



Anova		
Source	F.	prob.
Main Effects	4.81	.001
Gay	1.15	.301
Conventional	9.37	.001
Interaction	.76	n.s.

Figure 4.11. Psychological Adjustment by joint participation with gay and conventional others (continued next page)

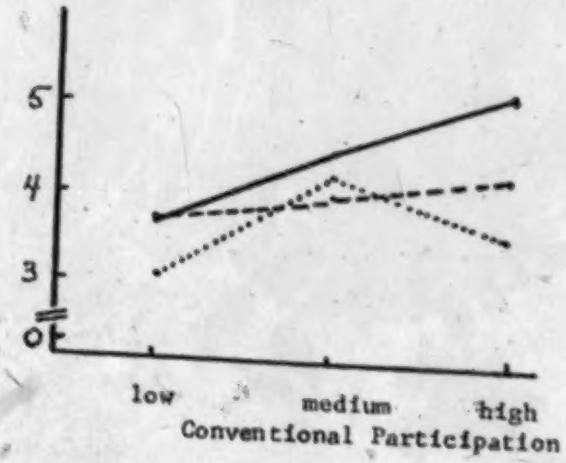
Self-Stability



Anova

Source	F.	prob.
Main	3.46	.010
Gay	.26	.769
Conventional	6.84	.001
Interaction	1.28	.292

Life-Satisfaction



Anova

Source	F.	prob.
Main	3.38	.005
Gay	3.16	.045
Conventional	5.82	.004
Interaction	1.59	.181

Figure 4.11. Adjustment by participation (cont)

be at this level, of overt attitudes and responses, that the experience of living within a marginal situation may manifest its most apparent effects. Some of these are positive: others reflect less favourable forms of personal and social development. While the discussion which follows focuses upon negative patterns there is evidence that the experience of living in an ambivalent social situation had directly influenced some individuals in positive directions. For example, expressions of sympathy for others facing oppression were often related to one's own experience of suffering, as were statements of increased insight and social awareness, and patterns of enhanced striving, for some, within the occupational sphere.

More ususal are response patterns of a less favorable nature. In his discussion of stigmatized groups, Goffman (1963) suggested that there exists one identity standard in our society. To the extent that individuals depart from this standard they are vulnerable to feelings of inadequacy, shame, guilt and other forms of self-hate and devaluation, with consequent effects upon their patterns of social relationships.

Self-devaluation may take many forms. At its most extreme it may be directed inward, manifesting itself in suicidal acts and in closely related but less virulent forms of chronic self-destruction, such as alcoholism and emotional disturbance (Menninger, 1939). Alcoholism, for example, would appear to be especially prevalent among gay people - a reflection not only of attempts to cope with societal-induced guilt but also a consequence of the more mundane fact that the major social-recreation institution within most communities is the bar. In many cases the bar is the community.[9]

Extreme forms of personality disfunction, whether manifest in terms of alcoholism, suicide, or other forms, and while traceable in many cases to the life circumstances of marginal aggregates, involve only a small minority of such individuals Most are less adversely affected. For the majority of gay people perhaps the more pervasive effects of the marginal situation are to be seen in attempts on their part to cope with an underlying defensiveness or insecurity with respect to their social status. Specifically, this can be seen in things such as a dissatisfaction with being gay, in attempts to conceal one's gayness, to minimize the significance of being gay and to separate oneself from all which might be considered"disreputable" within the gay community, and, more subtly and occuring in many forms, with a overriding concern to reassure oneself about the stability and security of one's social acceptability.

Table 4.12 provides some evidence of the frequency of socio-psychological responses to minority status (minority responses) found in the sample under study. Whether or not these are excessively frequent is a matter of opinion. It would be the feeling here that they reveal a relatively high degree of defensiveness among gay people with regard to their status, particularly when one considers that the sample under study is largely composed of individuals relatively highly involved within gay community life and scoring towards the upper end on the measures of social and personal adjustment employed. For example, less than half of the sample reject outright the negative stereotypes held of them by the larger society. Furthermore, over half are still somewhat bothered (worried, concerned, guilty) about the fact that they are gay. Conversations with gay people reveal in many cases inability to accept without reservation and self-devaluation the fact of being gay, often in conjunction with the recognition that these negative self-feelings stem from the social context within which the gay person operates, for example:

Table 4.12. Social-psychological Responses to Minority Status

Response		Percentage	
	agree	uncertain	disagree
Stereotypes			
Sees gays as disturbed	38.1	14.1	47.8
Feels gays are visible	38.7	6.3	54.9
Feels guilty	57.0		43.0
Images			
Feels trouble caused by minority	69.7	14.8	15.5
Feels gay and straight not different	48.6	14.1	37.5
Rejects idea gays are superior	62.0	16.9	21.1
Disassociates with known gays	35.4	17.6	57.0
Primary bond to social class	51.4	13.4	35.2
Always aware of being gay	58.5	8.5	33.1
Denial			
Does not wish to be gay	16.2	20.4	63.4
Would give up being gay	19.7	32.4	47.9
Would live life over not gay	23.9	30.3	45.8
Covertness with respect to:	(covert)	(moderately open)	(open)
Family	59.2	20.4	20.4
Friends	40.9	23.9	35.2
Employer	87.4	4.9	7.7

"You come to hate yourself after a while because you can't be yourself with people around."

While the more direct signs of self-devaluation (revealed through questionnaire responses to items dealing with the acceptance of societal stereotypes and feelings of guilt, as well as through observational data) seem relatively frequent, these responses do not appear to be transferred as frequently to a direct denial of one's group membership. Only a minority of respondents (19 percent) do not wish to be gay and close to a majority of individuals reject the idea that they would give up being gay (if the opportunity arose) or live their life over not-gay. On the other hand, a large percentage of individuals are highly covert with respect to disclosure about their homosexuality. Whether concealment of one's homosexuality from significant others is a reflection of defensiveness in regard to group membership or self-preservation is debatable. Undoubtedly severe negative reactions to disclosure do occur; equally apparent is the fact that disclosure is not inevitably followed by hostile reactions.[10]

Field work experience would suggest that in most cases lack of self-disclosure is associated with a degree of defensivenss with respect to being gay, particularly with regard to disclosure to family and friends.[11]

Defensiveness is also manifest in a number of social behaviors and attitudes, particularly in concerns with presenting a positive image to the conventional world, in attempts to deny differences among gay and straight, and in a lack of solidarity with other gay people.

Fraser's (1957) description of symbolic status striving among the black bourgoisie is paralleled in many respects among middle and upper-middle class gay people. The emphasis on clothes, travel, sociability, and residential arrangements can be seen both as symbolic status striving and as an attempt to construct a conventional facade for public consumption.

See for example Warren's (1974) reports of the housing patterns among gay people in the community she studied. Humphrey's (1972) discussion of the "breastplate of righteousness" assumed by certain participants in tea-room activities represents a related form of activity designed to cover an unconventional set of sexual activities by a more conventional life style.

A concern with positive images can also be seen in the strong tendency to hold a small minority of gay people responsible for the difficulties faced by the minority as a whole, the implicit assumption being made that only if gay people could "clean up their act" (and be more like everyone else) most of their difficulties would disappear, an assumption manifest at times in negative attitudes directed towards those individuals who most fit social stereotypes about homosexuals, particularly with regard to effeminacy.

While it is true that the majority does tend to blame the whole minority and to have its prejudices reinforced by the actions of the more disreputable few it is surprising to find this attitude so common among respondents.

In regard to differences among gay and straight a number of respondents, particularly among the more educated and successful, expressed strong antipathy to this idea. With respect to questionnaire results a majority rejected the idea that differences exist. A rejection of differences may simply reflect the awareness that gay people are like anyone else, a claim, like Shylock's, to a common humanity. A less charitable interpretation would suggest that denial of difference represents an attempt to cope with defensiveness about gay status through a minimization of the importance of that status. Rejection of difference was at times accompanied in the field by objection to the work of activist groups (whose activities were often seen as irrelevant or unnecessary) and opposition to what were perceived as their goals and tactics (the later being perceived as somewhat unrespectable), as well as by a low degree of empathy for the plight of other gay people caught within oppressive practises of the larger society (their own fault).

As one respondent suggested,

> What they (activist groups) try to do is make people come out and be a minority. They want enough out so they are a minority and so they can put pressure on others. I'm not a minority. I'm a member of the majority - a human being. How many people are discriminated against. There's the racing steward in Toronto (reference to John Damien) - one gay in Toronto. A woman gets fired for not putting it out with her boss. That's discrimination. Lots of things are discrimination. Look to end all discrimination. Sure, but not by setting yourself up as a minority. Setting yourself apart from others.

While many gays may hesitate to set themselves apart from others, this hesitation sometimes disappears when confronted with other gay people. For the sample as a whole more than half express greater closeness on social class as opposed to sexual lines although a sizeable minority feel a greater sense of association with other gay people irrespective of class. A similar minority express reluctance to associate with known gay people. What is disliked in oneself becomes doubly painful when revealed in others, making group solidarity somewhat tenuous.

The relative absence of solidarity is reflected in many aspects of gay community life, for example, in the tendency to blame a small minority for the social reputation of the minority as a whole, the hostility and contempt directed towards those departing most from conventional normative standards, the unwillingness of the vast majority to become involved, even discreetly in the work of activist and gay community organizations,[12] and in a general inability of many to work together to achieve common goals. A recent bit of grafitti summed up this tendency by suggesting that "if all the gay people in the world got together and planned to go to the grocery store, four of them might show up."

The data would suggest that the experience of living within a marginal situation manifests itself in a number of ways in the behavior of gay people. Survey data has pointed to the existence of responses indicative of a degree of defensiveness on the part of the sample in question. An examination of the frequency of such responses among individuals differentially involved with gay and conventional society (Tables 4.13 and 4.14) does not reveal a strikingly consistent pattern. In general, however, such responses are less frequent among individuals more involved with gay others, and more frequent among individuals high in conventional involvement. A consideration of minority responses by joint levels of association with gay and conventional others suggests that such responses are consistently lowest among individuals high in participation with both types of others.

Turning for a moment to the gay community as a whole, it can be tentatively suggested that the social situation faced by gay people gives rise, in many, to a degree of defensiveness and insecurity. The general response on the part of gay people to such a situation has been to turn to individualistic solutions or activities designed to provide the individual with reassurance that all is well. While these may take a number of specific forms depending on socio-economic status, age, the individual's

Table 4.13. Minority Responses by Gay and Conventional Participation

Responses	Gay Participation					Conventional Participation				
	Low	Med.	High	X^2	Tau c	Low	Med.	High	X^2	Tau c
		percent					percent			
Sees gay as disturbed	47.9	28.6	37.8	.150	.150	29.2	44.9	40.0	.265	.134
Feels gay people are visible	43.8	26.5	46.7	.092	.41	39.6	40.8	35.6	.862	.350
Feels guilty over being gay	77.1	67.1	35.6	.001	.000	54.2	51.0	66.7		.413
Does not wish to be gay	33.3	4.1	11.1	.000	.002	12.5	10.2	26.7	.067	.035
Would give up being gay	31.3	14.4	13.3	.047	.014	20.8	16.3	22.2	.751	.440
Would live life over not gay	41.7	12.2	17.8	.002	.003	18.8	22.4	31.3	.361	.084
Highly covert with respectto:										
Family	75.0	61.2	40.0	.008	.002	45.6	62.3	66.7	.067	.010
Friends	52.1	46.9	22.2	.004	.001	29.2	44.9	40.9	.120	.070
Employer	41.7	91.8	77.8	.066	.024	83.3	91.8	86.7	.447	.303
Feels trouble caused by small minority	66.7	71.4	71.1	.852	.318	70.8	67.3	71.1	.901	.439
Feels gay and straight not different	54.2	44.9	55.6	.525	.450	60.4	51.0	42.2	.214	.041
Rejects idea gays are superior	72.9	69.4	42.4	.004	.001	50.0	71.4	64.4	.087	.070
Does not like to associate with known gays	41.7	24.5	18.9	.001	.000	10.4	34.7	31.3	.013	.010
Primary bond to social class	64.6	44.9	44.4	.080	.025	37.5	59.2	57.8	.060	.024
Always aware of being gay	52.1	59.2	64.4	.478	.114	66.7	59.2	48.9	.219	.042

Table 4.14. Mean Levels of Minority Response by Gay and Conventional Participation

Responses	Gay Participation				Conventional Participation			
	Low	Med.	High	SigF 2,139	Low	Med.	High	SigF 2,139
	Mean Values				Mean Values			
Sees gays as disturbed	3.0	2.6	2.7	.246	2.7	2.8	2.8	.811
Feels gay people are visible	2.9	2.3	2.9	.043	2.8	2.6	2.7	.873
Feels guilty over being gay	2.49	1.9	1.6	.001	2.0	1.9	2.0	.673
Does not wish to be gay	3.1	4.1	4.0	.000	3.9	3.9	3.4	.074
Would give up being gay	2.9	3.6	3.6	.014	3.4	3.5	3.2	.552
Would live life over not gay	2.9	3.5	3.6	.015	3.4	3.5	3.2	.552
Covertness with respect to:								
Family	2.3	2.5	2.8	.017	2.7	2.4	2.4	.084
Friends	2.6	2.7	3.3	.001	3.0	2.8	2.8	.362
Employer	2.0	2.0	2.4	.007	2.2	2.0	2.1	.476
Feels trouble caused by small minority	3.9	3.8	3.7	.820	3.7	3.7	3.8	.879
Feels gay and straight not different	2.9	2.6	3.0	.246	3.0	2.8	2.7	.431
Rejects idea gays are superior	2.1	2.3	3.0	.000	2.6	2.3	2.5	.281
Does not like to associate with known gays	3.1	2.5	2.0	.000	2.1	2.8	2.7	.011
Primary bond to social class	3.7	3.0	3.0	.011	2.8	3.5	3.5	.006
Always aware of being gay	3.2	3.4	3.5	.432	3.7	3.3	3.1	.050

unique biography or other cause, they involve in part a concern with the presentation and maintenance of conventional facades, an emphasis on symbolic forms of status striving, and/or an opposition to and or avoidance of activities which might "rock the boat" or would call in to question individuals own safe and secure social positions. The majority of gay people have responded to being in a marginal situation, until relatively recently, by attempting to blend as inconspicuously as possible into the fabric of the larger society - they have sought reassurance and refuge from the vissitudes of a potentially threatening environment by seeking to convince themselves that they were just like everyone else - a process accomplished in part by being more like everyone else.

Chapter 4 Footnotes

1. In addition nineteen completed returns were received from gay females and twelve from males who classified themselves as bisexual. On the basis of field work it is believed that a large number of those who described themselves as bisexual were primarily oriented to a gay life style. Since the aim of this work was to examine responses to occupancy of an inconsistent status set these individuals were not included in the sample as their act of self-definition (as bisexual) removed them from an inconsistent situation, regardless of their behavior.

2. While 20 males indicated membership in GATE this number exceeds the official paid membership total at the time of the study, and would appear to include paid up members, last years members who had not yet renewed their membership, and individuals whose involvement qualified them as members, in their own eyes. The discrepancy arises in that the year-end for memberships expired shortly prior to data gathering; given the somewhat amorphous nature of most gay liberation groups it is relatively unimportant.

3. The degree to which dis-ease evident among members is a consequence of present activities or a reflection of previously existing and as yet unresolved personal problems is impossible to determine. A surprisingly high number of members would appear to have had life careers marked by interpersonal difficulties of various forms. Whether this represents a real difference in life-troubles or rather a greater honesty is once again difficult to determine, although my preference is towards the former interpretation. Without wanting to give the impression that activist/community service organizations are peopled by "misfits" one has to recognize that activism-community service work tends to attract two types of people, those who recognize a need and work to fill it, and those who find in such organizations an atmosphere more tolerant of their personal idiocyncracies than available elsewhere in the community.

4. A measure of occupational prestige was obtained by coding respondents' occupations according to the rating scale developed by Pineo and Porter (1967). Unfortunately, this data proved somewhat inadequate, in that many answers were either too vague for reliable classification or were missing altogether. Consequently socio-economic status was estimated by summation of income and education levels.

5. A detailed analysis of gay baths and their role in the community has yet to be done. With the exception of recent work by Weinberg and Williams (1975) much of the existing information is largely anecdotal and influenced by the writers' attitudes towards the sexual component of these institutions. While such settings provide opportunity for impersonal sexual gratification, to focus only on their sexual role ignores their other "community-centre-like" functions. In addition, while sexual encounters within the baths may occur between individuals of recent acquaintanceship (if it can be called that) whose relationship may be of a somewhat limited duration, it does not necessarily follow that such encounters are best characterized by the term "impersonal".

While a detailed discussion of the baths is beyond the scope of this paper, it should be noted that any such discussion should focus on the social role of the baths, in addition to their sexual one, and should be prepared to place the nature of sexual activity among gay males within a context removed from the evaluative preconceptions and limitations of conventional perspectives.

6. Identification with the larger conventional society was operationalized in two ways. The first, reported in the text, measures the extent to which the minority group member continues to view people like him from the perspectives - with the stereotypes - of the dominant group, and is directly related to MPC. The second, (Comrey, 1972) provides a measure of general acceptance of society as it is. While it could be assumed that increasing acceptance of what has been called a homophobic society should, for the gay person, be associated with increased turmoil and inner conflict, such does not seem to be the case totally. As figure 4.12 indicates both low and high levels of acceptance are associated with low levels of MPC. Figures 4.13 and 4.14 outline the relationship between acceptance of conventional society and gay identification and perceived barriers, respectively.

7. For example, of the five items comprising the measure of alienation, four reveal significant differences by level of association with conventional others, but none are significantly affected by association with gay others (Table 4.15).

8. Correlations between disclosure and measures of adjustment reveal a small, but consistently positive association between these measures.

9. Warren (1974) provides a good discussion of the role of alcohol in both private and public forms of gay sociability. Most gay community organizations have recognized the seriousness of alcohol related difficulties among gay people and many have started or are in the process of establishing both alternative contexts for socializing and self-help programs, often in conjunction with local AA groups.

   An unpublished Vancouver study (Tobaccao, 1974) suggests that other forms of drug use are also prevalent among gay populations. My own observations would lead to the feeling that frequency of use does not differ considerably from equivalent (age, socio-economic status) groups within conventional society. While evidence is slight it would appear that suicide may be more prevalent among gay people, a reflection perhaps of the greater personal isolation and social and spatial mobility among gay people.

10. Of those respondents whose significant others definitely know about the subjects' sexual preferences, the great majority reported highly accepting reactions. Those whose significant others did not know anticipated a lower degree of acceptance. Unfortunately there is no way of knowing the degree to which respondents have accurately read the potential reactions of these others. The degree of discrepancy between the two groups would suggest that there does exist an over estimation of negative reactions on the part of some individuals (see Table 4.16).

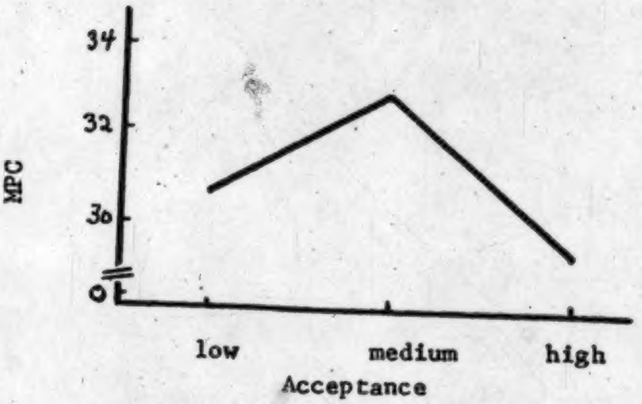


Figure 4.12. Mean MPC by acceptance of society

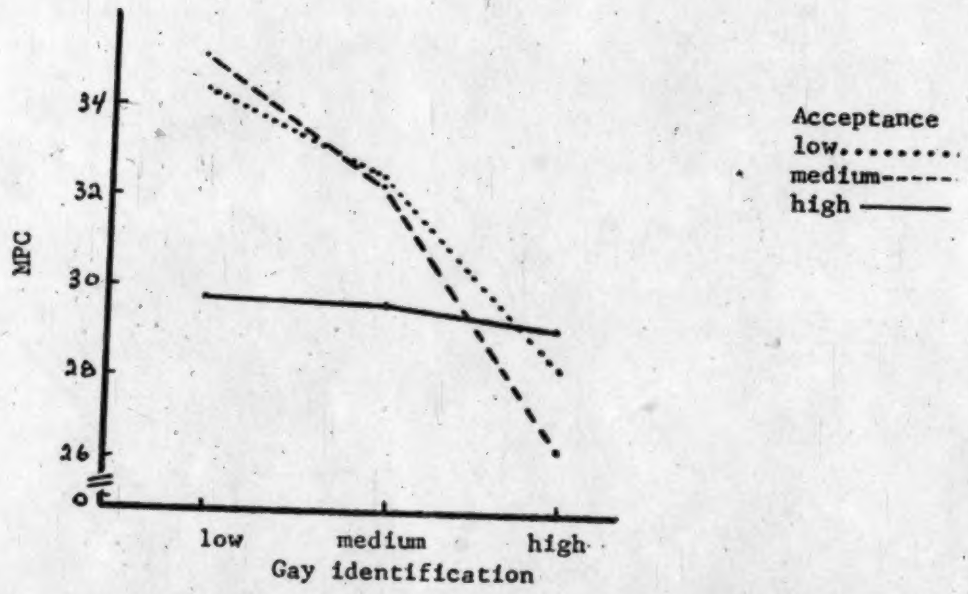


Figure 4.13. MPC by gay identification and acceptance of society

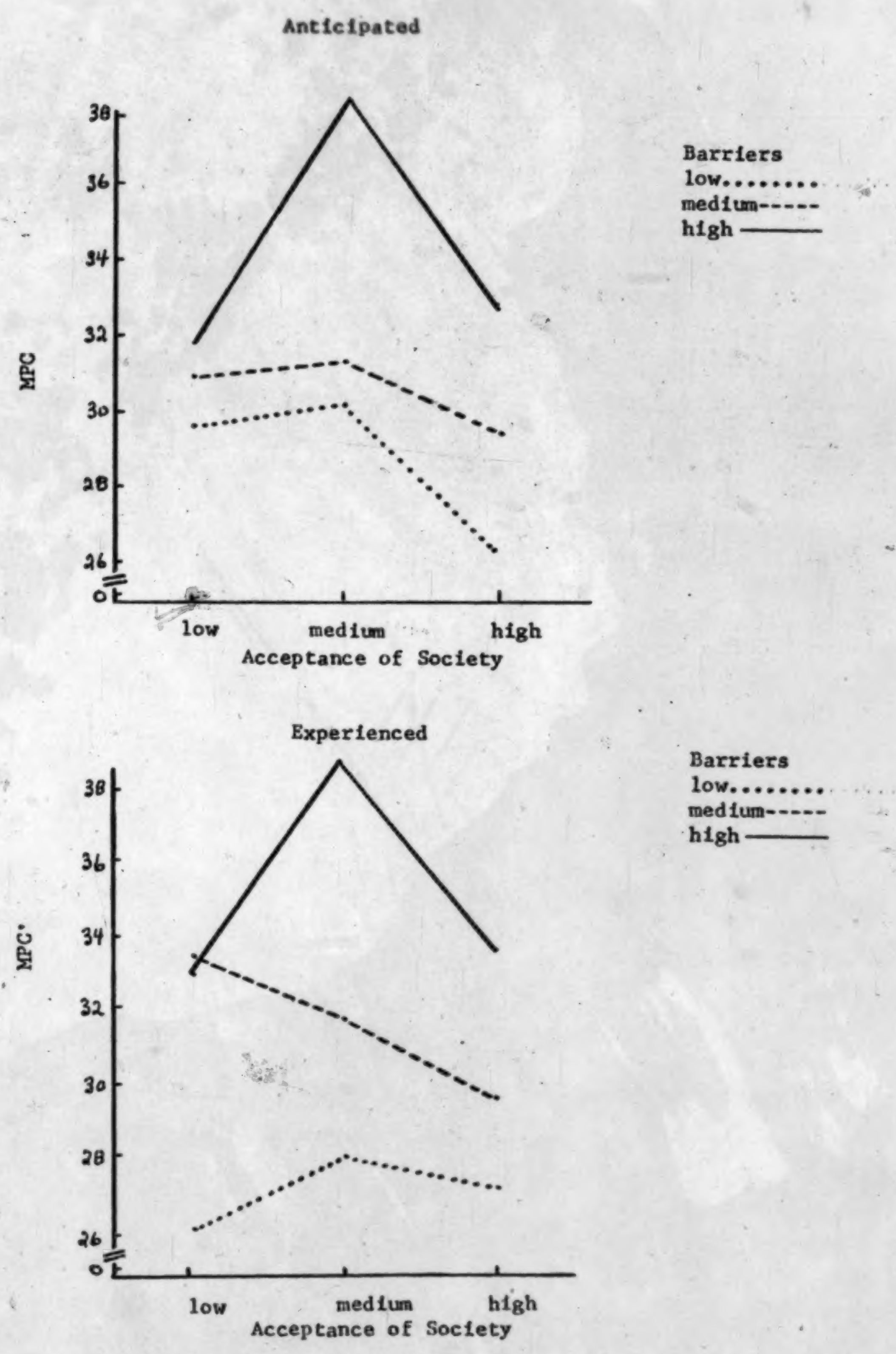


Figure 4.14. MPC by acceptance of society and perceived barriers

Table 4.15. Mean Level of Alienation by Gay and Conventional Participation

Type of Alienation	Gay Participation L.	M.	H.	Sig $F_{2,139}$	Conventional Participation L.	M.	H.	Sig $F_{2,139}$
Powerlessness	2.9	2.7	3.0	n.s.	2.9	3.0	2.7	n.s.
Social estrangement	3.4	3.2	3.2	n.s.	3.5	3.3	2.8	.012
Meaninglessness	2.4	2.5	2.3	n.s.	2.6	2.5	2.1	.012
Alienated from work	2.1	2.2	2.4	n.s.	2.6	2.2	1.9	.012
Culturally estranged	2.9	2.8	2.8	n.s.	2.8	3.1	2.5	.058
Alienation (total scale)	13.8	13.4	13.5	n.s.	14.4	14.1	12.1	.001

Table 4.16. Actual and Anticipated Reactions of Significant Others to Knowledge of Respondents' Sexual Orientation

Others	Percent Knowing*	Percent Accepting**	Percent Anticipated to be Accepting
Mother (133)***	50.6	66.7	35.4
Father (120)	28.3	70.6	29.1
Brother (100)	39.0	82.1	39.3
Sister (109)	37.6	80.5	54.4
Best friend - same sex (122)	50.8	90.3	63.3
Best friend - opposite sex (121)	52.9	90.6	64.9
Employer (113)	10.6	83.3	30.7
Work associates (112)	11.6	69.2	20.2

* Includes only those who definitely know.

** Includes only those who were totally understanding and accepting. Those others who were "tolerant" were classified as non-accepting.

*** Number of cases.

11. Most gay activist groups advocate a policy of openness on the rationale that being gay is nothing to be ashamed of and therefore should be shared, as any other fact, with one's significant others. While agreeing with this position, it should be recognized that for many people in our society homosexuality is not just another fact about the person but is the person and thus is often the basis for very hostile reactions. Thus in some cases even the most self-accepting may find it prudent to be discreet.

12. The number of individuals so involved is probably much less than 1 percent of the total population. In attempting to understand this low level of involvment one must give due regard to the level of social oppression existing within society. For example, following a successful CBC news report on GATE and its activities and a favorable newspaper article at least two telephone calls were received by the organization from gay people who objected to the publicity. One expressed the thought that life was easier if gay people remained totally invisible.

Equally, if not more important is the fact that many individuals do not feel socially oppressed or personally troubled as a consequence of being gay and thus cannot see either the need for or value of collective action designed to improve the lot of the homosexual. Additionally it must also be recognized that activist organizations, perhaps more so than other formal associations, fulfill important expressive needs for their members. To the extent that most people have been able to find adequate companionship through private initiative a strong motivator of activist involvement is lost.

Credit for the lack of support within the larger community for activist groups must also go to these organizations themselves. They have sometimes been remiss in working to overcome the socio-economic and age barriers which separate them from many others and in attempting to explain the misconceptions which exist within the larger community with regard to their activities. Their members are often insensitive to the needs and accomplishments of the 'average' community member, and tend to approach many matters rigidly and with an air of moral superiority. That said, they are often the best, if not the only, support available to many gay people in times of trouble.

Chapter 5

COPING WITH MARGINAL SITUATIONS

This chapter will draw together and account for some of the findings previously presented in the light of available knowledge about the Edmonton gay community and gay communities in general. Attention will be focused on the role of involvement with gay and conventional others in influencing successful adaptation to marginal situations, with special emphasis on the gay community and the development of that community in relation to the marginal situation facing gay people.

PSYCHOLOGICAL MARGINALITY

The data support the general theoretical stance outlined in the literature on psychological marginality. For individuals occupying a marginal social position, the degree to which they display evidence of psychic dis-ease is directly related to their experience (and anticipation) of barriers to full acceptance and participation in the life of the society as a whole, and to their continued acceptance of societal stereotypes about 'people like them'. Most psychologically marginal are those individuals high in both the experience of barriers (or their anticipation) and the acceptance of societal views about their devalued status (Figure 4.5).

Additionally, an examination of MPC in relationship to social involvement with gay and conventional society reveals a significant association between patterns of participation and psychological marginality. Both types of participation are related to a reduced level of MPC with the stronger and more consistent association present in the case of conventional participation. Least marginal were those individuals most highly involved with both social orders (Figure 4.8).

The measures utilized here reveal no interaction between identification with gay and conventional society and the appearance of psychological marginality. This suggests that the role of culturally conflicting elements is less significant in the appearance of MPC, at least for a sample of gay respondents, than the overt signs of rejection from the larger society.

The experience of psychological marginality would appear to be part of a general constellation of traits indicating lowered personal and social adjustment. Signs of MPC are associated with lowered self-esteem, decreased self-stability, higher levels of guilt and alienation, and lower levels of life-satisfaction.

These findings are of interest in that they demonstrate that the situation facing the gay person can be successfully conceptualized in terms of marginal man theory and that the processes applicable to other marginal situations are also to be found operating in the case of gay people. The data support the idea that gay people should be considered from within the same perspectives as are applied to other disadvantaged groups. While the criterion for the social disenfranchisement of gay people differs from that of other groups, this fact does not negate the operation of similar processes of societal reaction and response. While a unique minority in some respects, gay people confront similar pressures and respond in ways comparable to other marginal aggregates.

Limitations

The potential practical significance of the above findings is limited by at least two factors. The first limitations is suggested by an awareness that while the psychological concomitants of marginal situations follow hypothesized patterns, most individuals in this sample and in other marginal aggregates, do not appear to be particularly troubled or perturbed by their situation - at least in terms of psychological responses. Most respondents appear to be individuals of average or above average levels of adjustment as revealed by their scores on measures of MPC, self-esteem, self-stability, alienation and life-satisfaction. Approximately 80 percent of the sample reported themselves to be at least moderately happy and satisfied with the way their life is going. Similarly, in terms of the conventional criteria of education, occupation, and income, by which people are ranked in our society, the respondents fare quite well.

A number of years ago Cory wrote that

> a person cannot live in an atmosphere of universal rejection, of widespread pretence, of a society that outlaws and banishes his activites and desires, or a social world that jokes and sneers at every turn without a fundamental influence on his personality (Cory, 1951:12).

The findings of the present study do not support this view. This is perhaps less a limitation and more an encouragement to explore the circumstances under which individuals cope with difficult situations and manage to find personal and social satisfactions in the face of hostile environments.

A second limitation arises from the question of the relative importance of psychological marginality in terms of the possible consequences of marginal situations. One recalls for instance Dickie-Clark's (1966b) suggestion that marginal situations may have their most visible effects not at the psychological level, but in terms of more overt behavioral and attitudinal responses. For example, in chapter 3 it was suggested that many gay people experience a degree of unease and defensiveness arising from societal evaluation of homosexuality. Attempts to cope with this ambivalence can take a variety of forms, including a concern with maintaining a positive image before the world.

One of the features apparent within the Edmonton gay community, and others, is a fairly consistent rejection of and hostile or disparaging attitude towards those gay people who display and/or engage in stereotypic "gay behaviors." These attitudes would appear to be part of a larger set of responses stressing respectability and conventionality. Faced with an ambiguous social situation, it would appear that many gay people have sought to reassure themselves and consolidate their own social status through acquiring the attitudinal and physical accoutrements of middle class conventionality, and as a consequence tend to react negatively to anything which would threaten, even indirectly, their own position - one of which is stereotypic gay people.

A concern with maintaining a positive image may involve both put downs of those individuals whose presence brings discredit upon the group (as viewed from the perspective of the dominant social group) and attempts to separate oneself from them, as well as attempts to present oneself in ways deemed acceptable according to the values of the dominant groups. This can include, in part, the acquisition of material objects - clothes, living arrangements - designed to represent ones' social and personal well being and acceptability - a process which slides imperceptibly into the area of symbolic status striving. Any suggestion that gay people are particularly prone to the acquisition of objects or experiences for status as opposed to intrinsic purposes must be tempered with the realization that most gays tend to have a larger disposable income than their more familially committed counterparts. On the other hand, it must also be recognized that the nature of gay society, removed as it is from the more conventional structures and modes of evaluation, places a greater premium upon visible signs in judging personal worth, at least in the initial stages of contact.

An area of great importance to individuals and one in which the influences of occupancy of a marginal situation may also be apparent, at other than the level of personality conflict, is that of occupation.

While most writers recognize that gay people are distributed throughout the occupational hierarchy there exists a tendency to assume a disproportional concentration within certain status levels, and within certain occupational groupings, that is, within lower socio-economic levels and within service (hairdresser, waiter, orderly)and/or artistic categories, (dance, and interior design). Humphreys writes:

> My own research indicates that a disproportionally high number of male homosexuals find employment as hospital orderlies, and technicians, travelling salesmen, retail sales clerks, short order cooks, and waiters (Humphreys, 1972:34).

Greenfield et. al.(1972: 26-27) echo a similar theme in their discussion of restrictive discrimination. These patterns, to the degree they are correct, can be seen as reflecting both a movement of the discriminated into categories in which personal biographies are less important as well as the turning of individuals towards choices which they feel are suitable for gay people. That is, biased occupational distributions may reflect both responses to discriminatory treatment as well as anticipatory avoidance of discrimination by movement into occupations deemed more tolerant or accepting.

Sullivan (1974), on the other hand, in an examination of career patterns among gay people points to the temporal priority of occupational choice and the minimal influence of sexual preferences upon this choice, as well as to strong evidence of upward mobility among many of his respondents. In only a minority of cases was being gay seen to have influenced occupational choice through a push towards stereotypic occupations and an avoidance of fields deemed more oppressive of gay people, particularly in their demand for traditional masculine role playing.

Available information on the relationship between careers and sexual orientation is scant and largely suggestive rather than definitive. While agreeing with Humphreys that relatively few gay people are able to find employment free from the menace that their sexual lives might be exposed, it does not necessarily follow that they are "forced to make a living in jobs that carry rather low prestige, security, and rewards." One suggestion as to possible relationships would be to say that while being gay does not drastically affect choice of occupation at higher socio-economic levels it does influence patterns of choice at lower levels, this pattern being revealled in an over representation of gay people in the categories mentioned by Humphreys as opposed to others at a similar socio-economic level. It can also be suggested that individuals who become aware of their sexual orientation at an early age are more susceptible to stereotypic influences which exist relating homosexuality and occupational choice. In so far as they are less likely to have committed themselves to alternative occupations prior to coming out their range of alternatives may be more constrained by the activities of more visible members of the gay community.[1]

Even less is known of the relationship between career patterns and sexual orientation.[2] On one hand the relative absence of alternative commitments could enable more energy to be directed to the task at hand as well as reducing ties which might bind individuals to distasteful job situations. On the other hand, anxiety about exposure of one's homosexuality may be reflected in an increased avoidance of controversial issues and positions. At best one can say only that the potentialities for problems within the occupational sphere are among the more immediately felt concerns facing gay people - concerns which stem directly from the experience of living in a marginal situation.

While psychological responses to marginal situations are important it must be kept in mind that they are only one aspect of the total picture and one must also be aware that marginal situations also make their effects felt on a more overt behavioral level. A focus only on psychological marginality runs the risk of ignoring the more general adaptive response individuals make in their efforts to cope with difficult situations.

COPING WITH MARGINAL SITUATIONS

Rejecting the Situation

The most effective manner in which individuals cope with the ambiguities and conflicts raised by a gay identity is through failure to acquire the identity in the first place. Unlike other devalued statuses in which the being is inseparable from the doing a distinction can be made between the practice of homosexual acts and the possession of a homosexual or gay identity.[3] Homosexuality refers to a situated activity: being gay to a trans-situational identity. As long as the individual is able to separate the two he is able to engage in the practice without encountering the difficulties associated with the identity.

Such a course is not available to other marginal aggregates. For example, a Japanese-Canadian remains of Japanese ancestry whether he does anything "Japanese" or not.

One way in which individuals are able to have the practise without the identity is to claim an alternative identity, for example, bisexual instead of gay. Whether there actually is something in reality which constitutes a bisexual (or homosexual or heterosexual for that matter) is a debatable point. What is not debatable is the fact that this category exists and is used by individuals to provide acceptable accounts [4] of their behavior. Such a tactic would appear to be successful. Weinberg and Williams (1974:207-215) report that individuals so classified do not report greater psychological difficulties than individuals who see themselves as gay. While the number of bisexual respondents in this study was small (N=12) these individuals did not appear to differ from the gay males in psychological adjustment.

In addition to identity substitution there exist a number of other devices by which individuals may justify or excuse sexual activities with members of the same sex so that these practises may continue without the individual being forced to acquire a gay or homosexual identity (See for example, Humphreys, 1970). The list of such devices or rationalizations is perhaps limited only by the imagination of those involved. Common tactics include limiting sexual activity to a few forms or practises of a 'masculine nature', defining the activity as a temporary phase prior to moving to a more permanent heterosexual life-style and justifying the act in terms of the qualities of the partner (a favor to a special friend), or in terms of ones own needs or states (highly sexed, the "Oh was I Drunk Last Night" syndrome). While of varied nature they have in common the fact that they enable the individual to engage in homosexual practises without assuming a gay identity.

The examination of these practises was not a part of this study and people who employed them did not usually come to the attention of this researcher. They are of interest, however, because individuals who now classify themselves as gay reported use of such justifications in the early stages of their involvement in homosexual activities. It would appear that the breakdown of acceptable accounts forces the individual either to give up his homosexual activities or to acquire a homosexual identity. Those who follow the second path find themselves in the social situation described by Cory earlier. Most, however, appear to cope with it quite well.

Patterns of Social Involvement

Upon awareness of his homosexuality the individual is faced with two facts: one, that he is homosexual, and two, that homosexuals are "sick, perverted, and degenerate individuals condemned to a life of loneliness, despair and misery" (with perhaps visions of eternal damnation added for those raised within one of the more bible-based persuasions). Successful adaptation to a homosexual identity would appear to require at the minimum a neutralization of negative societal views and a cognitive reordering of what it means to be homosexual (Dank, 1971). Additionally, the individual must ensure the continued satisfaction of wants and needs he has come to value through his socialization within a heterosexual society.

A major factor in meeting these requirements, and thus, in the successful handling of a difficult situation,[5] is the pattern of social relationships established by the individual with his significant others, both gay and straight. The data suggest that the higher levels of adjustment are associated with increased participation with gay and conventional others, with the highest levels found among those individuals who combine at least a moderate degree of involvement with gay others while retaining a moderate to high degree of involvement with conventional institutions andothers(Figure 4.8).

While these results support the often impressionistic writings of those who argue for the supportive effects of participation within a gay subculture, a word of caution is in order. Taken by themselves degrees of involvement with gay others are less consistently associated with personal and social adjustment than involvement in conventional social structures. Beyond some moderate level increasing gay involvement would appear to have little effect in promoting further adjustment. For the range of responses reported here such does not seem to be the case for conventional forms of involvement.

These findings reflect the influence of certain confounding variables and the differing roles played by types of participation in the promotion of social and personal adjustment. One of the variables influencing results is socio-economic status, which is directly associated with both adjustment and participation with conventional others, while bearing an inverse relationship to levels of gay involvement. Analysis of variance, with socio-economic status as a covariate, reduces somewhat the association between adjustment and conventional participation while increasing the relationship between adjustment and gay involvement. In all cases, however, the relationship between adjustment and conventional participation is at a higher level of significance than the equivalent adjustment/gay involvement relationship.

This is not to deny the importance of close ties with devalued others. The role of these ties however, in promoting a successful life adaptation differs from that of ties to conventional institutions and others. Coping adequately with a gay identity requires first a neutralization of negative societal views and a cognitive reordering of what it means to be gay, and secondly a continued provision of reinforcements the individual has come to value in the process of growing up. The former would appear to be available only through the intervention of gay others: the latter, given the institutionally incomplete nature of gay community life, is most readily and abundantly accessible from conventional sources.

An analysis of involvement with gay and conventional others suggests that gay involvement is conducive to adjustment in that it functions to reduce the individuals unrealistic fears associated with difficulties encountered in being gay and to provide him with a cognitive re-orientation as to the meaning of being gay including an increased acceptance of a gay identity. The data indicate that involvement with gay others leads to a reduction in the degree of negative societal reaction anticipated from conventional others. Through increased contact with those who handle gay identities without difficulty the individual is able to replace the stereotype of a monolithic rejecting heterosexual world with a more realistic appraisal of possible reactions from conventional others (Kitsuse, 1962), a finding parallel to that reported by Weinberg and William (1974:198-199). In so far as anticipated rejection is associated with maladjustment (specifically MPC), increased involvement leads to an increase in personal adjustment.

Secondly, and equally important, increased involvement with gay others is associated with a redefinition of what it means to be gay, in terms other than those provided by societal stereotypes and an increased acceptance of one's identity as gay which in turn is reflected in increased adjustment and life satisfaction.[6] As Figure 5.1 indicates it is not participation with gay others itself which influences adjustment (in this case MPC) but rather the individuals acceptance of and commitment to a gay identity

A model of the interrelationships among forms of social participation and one indicator of adjustment, the degree to which individuals display signs of MPC, is presented in Figure 5.2. The numbers on the figure represent standardized path coefficients. The data suggest that while involvement with gay others is not directly associated with adjustment it is indirectly related through its ability to reduce feelings of anticipated rejection and to increase individuals' acceptance of a gay identity. A moderate amount of social involvement is sufficient to accomplish this goal. Increased involvement, to the extent that it interferes with conventional participation may have a detrimental effect upon

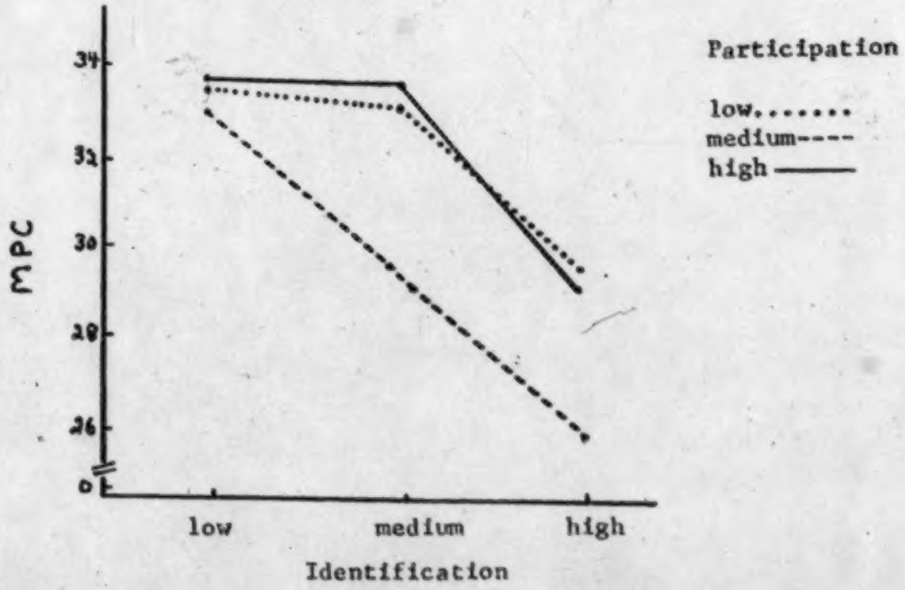
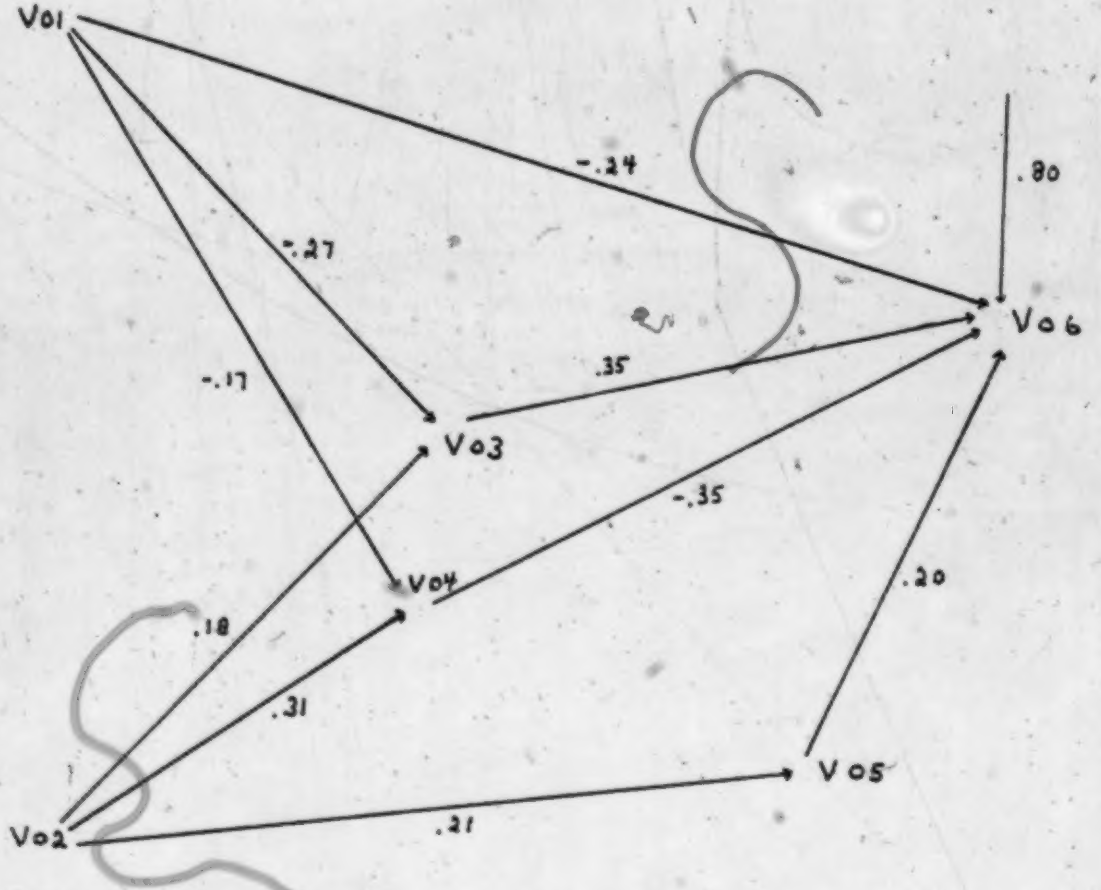


Figure 5.1 Mean MPC by gay participation and identification



V01 - conventional involvement

V02 - gay involvement

V03 - experienced barriers

V04 - gay identification

V05 - anticipated barriers

V06 - MPC

Figure 5.2 Social participation and adjustment (MPC)

adjustment. Additionally, high levels of participation with gay others increase the possibility that individuals will encounter greater rejection from the larger society, a factor related to lowered adjustment.[7]

Involvement with conventional others is more directly related to overall adjustment than is gay participation. There exists a direct relationship between adjustment and participation with conventional others, a relationship which persists when controls for possible intervening variables, for example, experienced rejection and commitment to a gay identity, are applied. This is not to say that participation per se causes greater adjustment. Rather, participation with conventional others provides the indivdual with satisfactions unavailable elsewhere which, in turn, results in greater adjustment. While the gay community may be able to meet many of its members' sociability needs it is unable to fulfill many of the other goals sought by people in our society - most notably economic security, but also satisfactions arising from participation within familial settings, religious associations and other conventional institutions.

Until such time as gay people either reject the importance of these needs in their lives, an unlikely possibility for most given their early socialization within conventional society, and/or develop comparable institutions to meet these needs within the gay community, successful adaptation to gay status would appear necessarily based upon moderate to high levels of involvement with conventional society - with the most successful adjustment being seen in those individuals who also maintain moderate to high degrees of involvement with gay others.

THE GAY COMMUNITY

While confirming the supportive nature of involvement with gay others, the results contradict somewhat original expectations, in that involvement with conventional others is more strongly and consistently associated with successful adaptation to marginal status than is subcultural involvement. It has been suggested that one explanation for this phenomenon lies in the differing roles played by each type of involvement, namely, that gay involvement provides the individual with cognitive rationalizations of his situation and fulfills many of his sociability needs, while other forms of participation lead to the satisfaction of other wants and needs conducive to successful adjustment. The limited influence of social involvement with other gay people reflects in part the incomplete nature of gay community institutions. Despite their numbers gay people have been unable to create a multidimensional community structure to meet the requirements of their particular social situation.

A number of gay spokesmen have even suggested that a gay community does not exist, using as evidence the lack of cohesive social or psychological ties uniting gay people, the existence of mutually exclusive and opposing factions within the gay constituency and variations in normative and socio-cultural standards found among gay people. The existence of community is both a matter of degree and a product of definitions used.[9] Critical commentaries on the nature of gay worlds often tell more about the images people hold for community than of the community itself.[10] What is clear from these comments is not that the gay community does not exist but rather, as presently constituted, it does not meet the expectations and desires of many of its members.

The following pages briefly explore factors which contribute to the institutionally incomplete nature of gay communities. The level of community development reflects influences of the overall marginal situation. Additionally, the state of the community exists as a major factor facing individuals as they move into gay worlds and continue their gay careers.[11] Both points suggest the importance of looking at gay communities more closely. The intent here is not to argue either for or against the existing state of affairs but rather to suggest how this situation has arisen.

Factors Affecting Gay Community Development

A segment of the population will usually develop institutional arrangements to satisfy needs unable to be met within the larger society, either because such needs are unique to the group in question, for example, the desire to preserve a distinctive cultural heritage, or as a consequence of the exclusion of group members from participation in existing structures. Such a development is less advanced in the case of gay people than among other marginal aggregates. In general development of the gay community has been hindered by two factors, the nature of the barriers facing gay people and the format of their early socialization experiences.

A significant feature affecting the gay community has been the nature of the sanctions gay people confront. As stated in Chapter 3 these are relatively severe and wide ranging in theory, while easily transcended in practice. As long as individuals restrict the manifestations of a gay identity to the demi-world of bars, baths, and private settings they run little risk of endangering their position within conventional society. Our society would appear fairly tolerant of departure from normative standards, provided that departure is handled in ways which do not question the legitimacy of the norms involved, a fact not restricted to homosexuality but applicable as well to other forms of rule violation (Simmons, 1969).

It is only when individuals move beyond the point of self imposed discretion and towards attempts to end the separation of gay and straight worlds that they run the risk of increased public reaction. The motivation, therefore, to work for public change or elaboration of gay institutions so as to meet difficulties gay people encounter is largely lacking, particularly among those individuals most equipped through education or social position to offer such assistance. Thus, it can be said that the nature of the barriers confronting gay people acts as a major force contributing to the structurally underdeveloped nature of the gay community.

Another factor influencing the existing shape of gay society lies in gay peoples' early life socialization, an experience which reduces the scope of group-specific needs, limits the awareness of possibilities for an alternative cultural identity, and provides them with cultural scripts and models which are inappropriate to their situation

Unlike many other marginal aggregates gay people do not grow up within a gay cultural environment. Rather, the potential gay person is raised within the conventional society. His attitudes, desires, goals, preferences, and prejudices reflect the influence of his particular socioeconomic or ethnic heterosexual milieu. Therefore, the homosexual is first, foremost, and most importantly, a heterosexual, who happens to attain significant social and sexual satisfactions from members of his own sex.

The importance of this fact in understanding the gay community cannot be overemphasized. The individual's basic needs and goals have been defined and set, as well as provided for, by conventional society. In so far as he does nothing unusual he remains a member in good standing of this society and receives its benefits. Unlike the situation facing most other minority group members, the gay person must first step outside the customary range of his experience in order to affiliate himself with like others (In this regard homosexuality is a much more an achieved as opposed to an ascribed status). In so doing he runs the risk of isolating himself from much that he has come to value and cherish. Thus a major pressure for the elaboration of subcultural institutions, namely, the existence of unmet needs, is largely lacking in the case of gay people in that, due to their socialization within a heterosexual milieu, they have come to share to a great extent the needs and preferred solutions of the dominant society.

Institutional arrangements may also arise in response to members' desires to preserve and perpetuate a distinctive and valued cultural heritage. For similar reasons this feature is absent in the case of gay minorities. Not only have gay people come to view their major needs and goals in terms of the values of the larger society (a process perhaps common to most minorities), but also, they have come to define their past, present and future and themselves in terms of the reflected appraisals of the larger society. These appraisals are for the most part either condescending, negative, or non-existent and provide a poor basis for the elaboration of community beyond the socio-sexual realm. Given this background the best most gay people could hope for was to advance the claim that gays were "just like everyone else" - but with a minor difference. While such a claim may or may not be true, its advocacy can limit the possibility that one will explore alternatives.

A people's present becomes meaningful in relation to both their past and future. Most gay people have been denied a sense of their history and an awareness of struggles, triumphs, and tragedies. Lacking a past they possess no future. The major problem in gay community development is not that gay people share the needs and goals of the larger society but that they have come to define themselves from the perspectives of that society rather from their own experience. Until such time as it is possible to reconstruct the past and awaken within gay people an awareness of historical events and personages it will remain exceedingly difficult to create viable communities, in either the present or future, which transcend the recreational and which are attuned to the possiblities of developing truly alternative life styles.

The influence of heterosexual society is also evident at a more specific level. When stepping into the gay world the individual does not travel without baggage but carries with him a host of attitudinal and behavioral responses which increase the difficulties involved in attaining satisfactions within the alternative community. Social class or ethnic prejudices do not disappear upon entrance to the community but retain their divisive impact. While they may not impede sexual contacts neither do they provide a firm bases for mutual co-operation. Additionally, sexist attitudes and biases have often prevented gay men and women from working together for common goals.[12]

Acquired attitudes connected with the practice of homosexuality and towards gay people in general, while reduced with increasing gay involvement, remain to influence behavior. Until such time as individuals can unreservedly accept their own sexual/social orientation they are apt to experience difficulty in accepting others who share that orientation. While not wishing to overstress either the frequency or severity of self - or group - disparaging attitudes among gay people, we must recognize that many are far from the point of total acceptance and that the existence of such feelings can impede the ability of people to work together harmoniously.[13]

In a related vien it should be noted that the models available as guides for the construction of gay life styles are those dominant within the larger society. These models, whether in the area of personal or interpersonal behavior, developed as a response to existing needs within a heterosexual milieu and may be dysfunctional when applied uncritically or without modification to behavior needs within a gay environment. For example, cultural notions of appropriate masculine behavior may act as barriers to the realization of satisfying personal relationships within the gay community. To the degree that males in our society are socialized to be competitive, non-emotional, and to dominant social situations, the establishment of stable egalitarian relationships between two males is subject to increased tension and becomes more difficult to achieve.

Similarly, in the handling of long term commitments, the mutual obligations implied by terms such as lover, life-mate, or living partner are at best only vaguely defined, forcing individuals to seek through trial and error solutions which in heterosexual marital relationships are more clearly specified and understood. To the degree that gay life styles involve areas not covered or provide for by existing cultural conventions gay people are apt to experience difficulty in working out satisfactory solutions to life problems, difficulties complicated by the existence and predominance of existing heterosexual models, or what one writer has spoken of as "straight white patterns".[14]

That a gay community exists at all is largely a function of members' needs for social and sexual gratifications,[15] satisfactions which cannot be totally filled within the larger society. These needs, taken in conjunction with the opposing pressures previously mentioned, are insufficiently broad to give rise to an elaborate range of community institutions.

It might be most accurate to characterize the gay community as a central clearinghouse wherein individuals can find the means, that is, gay others, with which to fulfill their private needs. Gay people come together as a collectivity in the search for what are primarily personal satisfactions. Once these have been secured the community loses much of its appeal to individuals. Not only do the formal institutions offer an insufficiently broad range of activities to hold the continued interest of most people, but also, the activities performed within the community can often be carried out more enjoyably within less competitive and more physically attractive, alternative settings once the appropriate others have been found.

The gay community remains a recreationally-oriented, leisure-time escape for most of its members, separated physically, temporally, and perhaps ideationally from broader concerns. While most recreational gatherings seek to provide their participants with escape from routine cares and troubles this experience seems more pronounced within the gay community. Perhaps as a consequence of the suppression of a gay identity within the larger society, conventional activities and concerns take on less relevance in the gay world. Warren (1974) makes the distinction between time spent in the straight world and time lived in the gay world. If one is only alive in the gay world (if that is the "real world"), then what is happening outside is unreal, a bad dream from which one has temporarily awoken, and of only minor concern when one is in the community.

To review, the gay community is able to meet only a few of the needs of its members due to its limited organizational development. The paucity of community structures is largely attributable to the particular combination of situational features within which such structures have been forced to grow, namely, the influence of the heterosexual socializing milieu, the social pressures homosexuals face (and their ability to evade them), and the nature of the needs themselves which bind individuals to one another. Of overriding influence is the multifaced effect of conventional influence in reducing unique needs and in dispensing with a gay cultural tradition and authentic sense of identity. While these factors need not prevent the eventual elaboration of gay community structures they do suggest the magnitude of the task facing those who would seek to build a community more responsive to a wider variety of individual and collective needs.

Chapter 5 Footnotes

1. Data on this point are largely anecdotal and confounded by associations with socio-economic background. Survey data indicate that individuals of present high socio-economic status were more likely to report awareness of being gay at a latter age, than those of lower present status. An association between present low status and age of sexual awareness undoubtedly reflects in part the influence of familial socio-economic status, with individuals of low status more likely to have awakened to their sexual orientation at an early age and to be less programmed for high status positions. On the other hand the fact of orientation choice at an early age can be seen as directly influencing a movement towards lower status occupations via a number of routes including greater susceptibility to societal stereotypes, the influence of visible gay models, increased familial tensions, and the positive pull of a gay world, which for the young may be much more enticing than the conventional prescriptions of study and career.

2. Tripp (1975) - presents an interesting discussion of occupations and homosexuality, with specific reference to governmental work.

3. This distinction is usually not made by the general public, except in special circumstances, for example, in situations of deprivation of female contact such as prisons and then usually only when the individual takes the more active or 'masculine' role.

4. It should also be noted that the term "accounts" is not being employed in a pejorative sense, but rather as used by Scott and Lyman (1968:46), as a linquistic device employed whenever an action is subject to valuative inquiry. Following their useage the description of self as bisexual would be a justification, that is, an account in which one accepts responsibility for the act in question, but denies the pejorative quality associated with it. Accounting for one's homosexual acts in terms of one's highly-sexed nature or as a product of drunkedness would be examples of excuses, that is, accounts in which one admits that the act in question is bad, wrong, or inappropriate but denies full responsibility.

5. It should be noted that for some individuals awareness is not a movement into a difficult situation, but is accompanied by a feeling of release, of knowing who one is, of coming 'home' at last. This is perhaps particularly so for those individuals whose acceptance of a homosexual identity is simultaneous with their final rejection of societal views on homosexuality. This would be true for individuals who retain a bisexual identity while dabbling in the gay community and reorienting their thinking about homosexuals. Not all individuals, however, are able to maintain acceptable accounts intact until they are no longer required. For the majority accounts collapse with the individual still in possession of societal views on homosexuality: for them the transition is into a difficult situation.

6. Through interaction with gay others the individual acquires not only the cognitive orientations which enable him to neutralize societal views about homosexuality and to justify and accept his own categorization as gay, but also the specific social skills and factual information which enable him to function and successfully within the gay world. These are inter-related and probably occur simultaneously.

7. Weinberg and Williams (1974:198-199) suggest that both anticipated and experienced rejection are negatively related to involvement with gay others. It would appear that they used the same scale to measure both anticipated and experienced societal reactions, while separate measures were employed here. There would appear to be little relationship between the two type of perceived barriers. Individuals who anticipate a highly negative societal reaction are apt to behave in ways which do not elicit a negative reaction, and thus their experience of rejection is low. Individuals who are involved with gay others to a greater degree are more apt to find themselves in situations where they experience rejection; however, they are also aware that the reactions of conventional society are not totally monolithic and negative.

8. High participators tend to experience less rejection, which in part helps to account for some of the relationships between adjustment and participation; also, high participators tend to score lower in commitment to a gay identity, thus affecting the relationship. Controlling for both these variables still leaves a significant relationship between participation with conventional others and adjustment.

9. As used here community refers to a segment of the population who tend to interact with one another in overlapping friendship networks, to share interests and outlooks that are similar, and to participate in common institutions (Effrat (1974:3).

   Effrat's discussion points to the fact that community is not an absolute phenomena but rather a variable one. We can and do have degrees of community. At one extreme we have a situation in which all the individual's needs can be met within the existing community structures; at the other, a situation in which only limited needs of members are satisfied within the community. See also Poplin (1972).

10. For example, a number of writers appear to suffer under the misapprehension that real communities arise and persist as a consequence of the positive ties and attractions which draw members into the collectivity. Collectivities which arise as a function of outside pressures are somehow less real. Sullivan (1974) therefore states that "The gay community is less a community than a part-time refugee camp." Wittman (1972:339) has written:

    > We are refugees from Americka. So we came to the ghetto. As other ghettos it has its negative and positive aspects. Refugee camps are better than what preceded them, or people never would have come. But they are still enslaving if only that we are limited to being ourselves there and only there.

The enforced nature of gay collectivities should be seen as one feature of the community, rather than interpreted as a sign of its absence.

11. It can be suggested that much of the dissatisfaction individuals experience in regard to being gay reflects less the direct effects of societal pressures and more the absence of clearly defined and available gay alternatives. These, in turn, reflect the influences of more general social forces.

12. A distinction should perhaps be made between those gay males involved in gay liberation (keeping in mind the ambiguity of the term) and others. The former tend to see the situation of gay people as part of a larger struggle involving all oppressed peoples and are, in general, more sensitive to the difficulties women face: the latter tend to hold attitudes appropriate to their specific socio-economic background, or unique life circumstances (some of which might be liberal, other Neanderthal).

    It should be noted that while women have tended to be less involved in gay liberation this inpart reflects a conscious decision on the part of many to work for change in areas where they personally experience greater oppression, that is, as women, rather than as gay people. Similarly many other gay people have sought to work for societal change from within the framework of their own ethnic communities or from positions dictated by their perception of the economic realities of our society. While such tactics may prove ultimately most advantageous to all they do disapate some of the potential strength of the gay liberation movement.

13. While some of the data (both objective and subjective) are interpretable as signifying self-rejection they also reflect the influence of the negative social situation in which gay people find themselves. For example, a lack of desire to associate with known homosexuals may reflect a dislike of people like oneself (thus indicating self-rejection); it may equally suggest a realistic concern with the dangers of exposure: or both. In addition a hostile social environment may affect his behavior either directly or indirectly (through its ability to create negative self-feelings which in turn affect behavioral responses). To place undue emphasis on the indirect path, via self-hate, leads to the danger that one will attempt to solve the 'problem' by focusing on the victim and his feelings rather than on the social situation which gave rise to these feelings in the first place.

14. We're mannekins all staunch and clean
    While we scheme our hollow dreams
    And we don't believe men ought to cry for men
    Because we're trapped in Straight White Patterns
    ...it seems like we've been banished
    To the roles that mold those mannish
    Modes of distance.....

Our hearts are out on loan
To strangers locked in stilted pantomine
But we buy them straight White Patterns
Spend our lives in the five-and-dime
Where the price for Straight White Patterns
Is surrender to our gender one more time.
(P. Haggerty, Gay Community Social Services of Seattle, 1973).

15. While related the social and the sexual are two separate areas. Past accounts have perhaps over-emphasized the role of the sexual in discussions of gay life-styles. Undoubtedly a sexual component pervades most gay encounters, as it does in contacts between straight men and women. In certain settings this sexual component is paramount, for example, gay baths: in others, for example, gay community organizations, sexual themes are much more subdued. On the other hand, interpersonal contact, without sexual connotations, is an important aspect in all interaction settings. To focus only on the sexual is to overlook the importance of non-sexual factors. A straight parallel would be to account for singles bars only in terms of final orgasmic release.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This work has been concerned with examining the social situation of gay males from the perspective of marginal man theory. The following pages summarize findings and offer suggestions for further research.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Findings deal with three general areas, the development of MPC, the effects of social involvement with conventional and non-conventional others, and general influences of the marginal situation.

In regard to the development of MPC it was hypothesized (Ho: 1a and 1b) that the greater the individual's identification with conventional society and the greater his perception of barriers to full participation in that society the greater the degree to which he would display signs of MPC. This major hypothesis and its sub-parts were supported. Signs of MPC among gay respondents varied as predicted with the individual's identification with conventional society and his perception of anticipated and experienced social barriers. Most marginal were those individuals high on both identification and perceived barriers.

Evidence was also obtained to support hypothesis 2 that identification with marginal others, in this case, a commitment to being gay, would act to reduce the experience of psychological dis-ease. There was no evidence to support Stonequist's hypothesis (Ho:3) that signs of MPC would be more frequent among individuals high on identification with both social orders.

With regard to patterns of social involvement it was felt that these adaptations to placement in a marginal situation should influence psychological outcomes (Hypothesis 4). Specifically, it was hypothesized that involvement with conventional others should be associated with increased evidence of MPC (4a) while involvement with gay others should lead to lessened MPC (4b). The data suggest that both forms of involvement are associated with lessened signs of MPC and that this relationship is stronger and more consistent in the case of involvement with conventional others. Least marginal were those individuals high on both types of social involvement. There was no evidence to suggest that simultaneous commitment to two supposedly conflicting social orders adversely affects individuals in terms of psychological marginality.

In addition to testing specific hypotheses concerning the appearance of MPC, relationships between involvement and personal and social adjustment, (self-esteem, self-stability, life satisfaction, alienation) were examined. A similar pattern emerges. Both forms of participation are associated with greater adjustment. The relationships are stronger in the case of conventional participation. Most adjusted were those individuals high on involvement with both types of significant others.

While both forms of participation are associated with increased adjustment the specific mechanism underlying their effects differs. Involvement with gay others influences adjustment through its ability to reduce unrealistic fears about being gay and to bring about an increase in the individual's sense of commitment to and acceptance of being gay. Conventional participation influences adjustment more directly through its ability to meet a variety of individual needs, the satisfaction of which is not possible within an institutionally incomplete gay community.

Past research has examined the role of sub-cultural others in helping the gay person adjust to his particular situation. The present findings extend this work by examining simultaneously subcultural and conventional involvements. Without unduly minimizing the supportive roles played by gay peers the results suggest that overall adjustment is more strongly influenced by the nature of the gay person's ties to conventional others and point to the necessity for gay people, at the present time, to maintain such contacts.

In so far as marginal situations influence individuals at levels other than that of psychological turmoil, it was proposed to examined the frequency of certain overt responses to the marginal situation (Allport's traits due to victimization) and to explore their variations among individuals differentially involved with gay and conventional others. The data suggest that such self-defensive traits are relatively frequent among gay respondents. In general, these responses were more common among individuals more involved with conventional others and less common among individuals higher in involvement with gay others.

Fieldwork experiences support these findings and lead to the suggestion that it is at the level of relatively overt behaviors and attitudes that occupancy of a marginal situation manifests its greatest influence on gay people. Broadly speaking, these influences might be characterized as representing a concern with conventional facades, a milder version of the theme explored by Humphreys in his discussion of the "breastplate of righteousness". Faced with insecurity arising from a potentially threatening situation many gay people have responded by engaging in a variety of behaviors which function both to divert suspicion from themselves and to provide reassurance of their social acceptability. Given adjustment levels obtained from questionnaire data and observed in the field such practices are advantageous for most in helping them cope with an ambivalent situation at minimal psychological cost.

With respect to marginal man theory a major implication of these findings is a repetition of the theme that marginal personality characteristics are but one consequence of life in a marginal situation. In so far as extreme forms of psychological marginality affect only a small number of individuals involved, these end-states may be seen as a relatively minor effect of the marginal situation. To focus primarily upon them is to run the risk of taking a negative view of whatever minority is being considered and of neglecting other responses to and/or influences of the marginal situation.

This point is emphasized by the use of gay males as respondents. The situation of this group is one seen as particularly conducive to the development of MPC (Stonequist, 1937). One would expect to find members beset by psychological turmoil. Survey and observational data suggest otherwise. While perhaps especially prone to psychological marginality, most individuals cope without succumbing.

The marginal situation, however, does affect individuals within it. In looking at the general situation of gay people two features predominate: first, the potential severity of societal reactions, coupled with the ease with which these may be avoided; and second, the absence of significant cultural differences between gay people and the larger socity. In so far as these parameters of the marginal situation are found not only in Canada, but elsewhere, the general situation of gay people and their responses to it would appear to be cross-culturally similar. On an individual level these responses are characterized as reflecting a concern with conventional facades. In terms of group process, the underdeveloped state of the public gay community can be traced to specific features of the marginal situation. It is felt that further research utilizing a marginal man perspective would be more productive if it focused upon these more overt levels of individual and community response rather than upon inner psychological states. Such research should be directed not only to the coping mechanisms employed by individuals but also to the broader historical and social forces which have, and which continue to shape the life styles and adaptations of members of the marginal aggregate.

In general, a marginal man perspective has been of value in examining the situation of gay people. This perspective encourages the researcher to focus upon similarities between gay and other minority groups. As such it has been of special value as an orienting framework in the consideration of gay minorities who, historically, have been usually approached from perspectives emphasizing individual pathology or deviance, often in isolation from the social context within which such responses appear.

The value of marginal man theory beyond an orienting framework may be limited. At the minimum further research utilizing this perspective in examination of gay or other minority situations should recognize the stress within the marginal man literature on psychological marginality (MPC) may be misplaced. First, it is questionable to what degree psychological marginality represents a distinct set of psychological responses. Investigators of psychological marginality would be advised to explore more fully the uniqueness of the concept. Second, an emphasis on MPC, which is visible in extreme form in only a minority of cases, may encourage neglect of the more widespread coping responses made by individuals, responses which are of greater practical significance in understanding marginal situations and their influences upon individuals within them.

Despite these limitations the marginal man perspective has provided a framework from which to further demonstrate that behavioral and attitudinal responses among gay people reflect similar processes to those found among other minorities. As such it provides encouragement for the view that it is from a group relations perspective that gay minorities might be most advantageously examined - as opposed to frameworks which would seek answers within the intra-psychic states of individuals.

AREAS OF FURTHER INVESTIGATION

Homosexuality has long been a taboo topic (Faberow, 1963). The taboos are disappearing and it is becoming easier to conduct research on gay communities. Such research should be conducted, not only for the increased knowledge it may provide about gay minorities, but also for the light it may shed on substantive areas of interest to sociologists in general.[1]

Focusing directly on gay people, it can be suggested that given the paucity of Canadian data about sexual minorities research into most aspects of this topic is of potential value and may reveal unexpected findings. While this study would suggest that cross-cultural similarity is a general norm a more detailed examination of gay life styles should uncover differences which would add to knowledge of gay people and of the more general area of research under consideration.[2] For example, the Canadian gay activist movement and gay life styles within different sized urban or rural locales have been pointed to as possible areas for investigation. Additionally, the baths as a gay institution have rarely been studied. An examination of their function and role within gay worlds would add not only to our knowledge of gay life but also to our general understanding of short-term sexual commitments.

Two specific areas in which further research is required are those of occupational and interpersonal relationships. The handling of occupational careers is one set of behaviors strongly influenced by experiences within the marginal situation. As yet little is definitely known of the relationships between sexual orientation and either career selection or management. Investigations here would increase our knowledge of coping with behaviors within the gay marginal situation as well as shedding light on occupational aspirations and achievement in general.

Similarly, an examination of interpersonal relationships among gay people is a relevant area for future research. This topic is of prime concern to many gay people. Furthermore, in a society where traditional conceptualizations of the nuclear family are increasingly inadequate to meet the needs of growing numbers it is important to look closely at alternative family structures - of which gay relationships are one example. Studies in this area should focus both on specific problems associated with life styles for which cultural conventions are lacking, as well as on solutions which have emerged to deal with these difficulties and to ensure individuals' satisfactions found by the majority within traditional structures.

To be optimally effective it is felt that future research concerning gay life styles should use a variety of methodological approaches in gathering data. This work and others, most noteably that of Weinberg and Williams (1972), have relied heavily upon survey methods to obtain large quantities of data from as representative a sample of the population as as possible. The experience gained here suggests that it would be more advantageous to focus upon a smaller number of respondents in greater depth and to place more emphasis upon in-depth and unstructured interviews (coupled with observation work within the gay community) in gathering data.

By approaching the topic in this way we should be better able to uncover concerns of respondents which may have been overlooked by structured self-report questionnaires as well as being better prepared to understand the temporal sequences involved in building and handling gay careers. Survey data indicates that most gay people are ultimately successful in adapting to their situation. We know little, however, of the stages leading to these positive outcomes or of the costs and complexities involved in maintaing them. Knowledge about these processes can only come through a detailed examination of life histories. While such an approach imposes its own constraints it would appear the most suitable one at the present time for discovering the mechanisms involved in handling gay identities and in relating them to the total range of one's life commitments.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In general it can be said that the great majority of gay people have been able to adjust to the situation in which they find themselves at a minimal psychological cost. Given an ability to separate their dual social worlds and their accompanying demands most gay people have been able to evade, if not ignore, restrictions directed at them and participate fully, if at times with anxiety, in the activities and benefits of the larger society. Increasingly, however, among a growing minority of gay people it is felt that these gains have been purchased at a price too high to pay, namely, at the denial or surrender of an indigeneous sense of gay identity or peoplehood.

In possession of the cultural heritage of the larger society, faced with potential sanctions as a consequence of their socio-sexual preferences and denied an authentic identity of their own choosing, it is not surprising that most gay people, historically and in the present, have largely defined themselves in terms of the larger society - just like them, with a difference-and have related to that society either by overtly flaunting their deviant identity' or more commonly by concealing sexual orientation beneath a conventional facade and limiting gay expression to a separate world of subterranean institutions.[3]

The past few years have witnessed a growing dissatisfaction with this situation and the first tentative steps towards its change. Increasingly gay people are beginning to demand their civil rights and to explore in greater detail the potentialities to be found in gay life styles. Using as models changes which have occured within ethnic communities, particularly within the Black community, gay people have begun the search for an indigeneous gay identity and the process of authenticating that identity by seeking to make it a part of their total range of life commitments.

The central dilemma facing gay people in the past has not been the difficulty of hiding or handling dual social identities, but rather the absence of a gay identity. The task facing the community now and in the future is one of defining gay alternatives and working towards their expression and realization.

Chapter 6 Footnotes

1. Zurcher (1972) for example, has used the term "cultural lead" in reference to behaviors found among the poor and the hip. He feels these represent adaptations to a social situation which will confront larger segments of the population in the near future. Many of his comments, particularly in the area of interpersonal relationships, are applicable to gay people at the present time. Given this fact, an examination of the existing gay situation may provide clues or insights to better prepare us for coming changes in the larger society.

2. A possible area for those interested in cross-cultural differences would be an examination of gay activism in different political jurisdictions. The differing political systems in Canada and the United States, for example, should influence the form gay liberation struggles take, with a more centralized organizational structure being more relevant to the Canadian case. Given the difficulty of cross cultural work perhaps a more accessible research area would be comparisons between gay life styles in different sized urban and rural settings.

3. In the past these were the only alternatives open to gay people and despite apparent differences they are very similar. Leznoff and Wesley's (1956) secretive and overt homosexual groups, while differing in terms of their involvement with conventional others share in common both the fact that neither have integrated being gay within the sphere of their conventional involvements and a definition and expression of gayness largely in terms provided by the surrounding society.

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APPENDIX I

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
TELEPHONE (403) 432-5234

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
EDMONTON, CANADA
T6G 2E1

Greetings;

I am working on a study of gay life styles and would like your help. The purpose of the enclosed questionnaire is to study how different individuals handle the difficulties sometimes associated with being gay.

Please answer each of the questions in terms of your own feelings or situation.

When you have completed the questionnaire, please place it in the envelope provided and mail it to the researcher.

Do NOT sign your name. ALL ANSWERS ARE COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL and will be seen only by the researcher.

The gathering of accurate information depends upon your completion and return of this questionnaire. IF YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS OR CONCERNS ABOUT THE NATURE OF THE STUDY, please call me at 439-2862.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PATIENCE AND COOPERATION.

Sincerely

Neil Lindquist
Department of Sociology
University of Alberta

NL/eb
Encl.

ATTITUDE STUDY

PROJECT DIRECTOR

Neil Lindquist

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
EDMONTON, ALBERTA

PLEASE DO NOT PLACE YOUR NAME ANYWHERE ON THIS QUESTIONNAIRE

WHEN YOU HAVE COMPLETED ALL THE QUESTIONS PLEASE RETURN THE QUESTIONNAIRE (IN THE ACCOMPANYING ENVELOPE) TO:

NEIL E. LINDQUIST
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
EDMONTON, ALBERTA

THANK YOU VERY MUCH. YOUR HELP IS GREATLY APPRECIATED.

PLEASE ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS. PLACE A CHECK BESIDE THE ANSWER THAT BEST DESCRIBES YOU.

Often you may find that no answer to a question completely describes your feelings or situation. In such cases you should choose the answer that fits best. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers. I am interested in learning about your feelings, opinions, and situation.

1. What is your sex? _____1)male _____2)female

2. What is your age? _____years

3. How far have you gone in your education?
   _____1)eight grades or less
   _____2)some high school
   _____3)high school graduate
   _____4)some university or business school
   _____5)university graduate
   _____6)graduate or professional degree

4. What is your average annual income?
   _____1)Less that $5,000
   _____2)$5,000 to $7,999
   _____3)$8,000 to $10,999
   _____4)$11,000 to $13,999
   _____5)$14,000 to $16,999
   _____6)$17,000 to $19,999
   _____7)$20,000 or more

5. Are you _____1)single _____2)married _____3)divorced
   _____4)separated _____5)widowed?

6. a) How long have you lived at your present address?
   _____year(s) _____month(s)

   b) How long did you live at your previous address?
   _____year(s) _____month(s)

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

7. a) Do you belong to any clubs (excluding gay organizations), lodges, unions, professional associations, or other organized groups? _____1)yes _____2)no

   b) If yes, how many? _____

   c) In general do you attend their meetings?
   _____1)regularly _____2)sometimes _____3)rarely

   d) Have you ever held office in these organizations?
   _____1)yes _____2)no

   e) Have you ever served on committees of these organizations?
   _____1)yes _____2)no

8. a) How often do you usually attend church or synagogue?
_____1)once a week or more
_____2)two or three times a month
_____3)once a month
_____4)several times a year
_____5)less often
_____6)never

b) What is your religion?
_____1)United Church
_____2)Anglican
_____3)Other Protestant
_____4)Roman Catholic
_____5)Ukranian Catholic
_____6)Jewish
_____7)Other
_____8)None

9. About how often do you see relatives?
_____1)once a week or more
_____2)two or three times a month
_____3)once a month
_____4)several times a year
_____5)less often
_____6)never

10. About how often do you have straight friends over to your place?
_____1)once a week or more
_____2)two or three times a month
_____3)once a month
_____4)several times a year
_____5)less often
_____6)never

11. About how often do you visit with straight friends at their homes?
_____1)once a week or more
_____2)two or three times a month
_____3)once a month
_____4)several times a year
_____5)less often
_____6)never

12. Of all your friends, how many are (to your knowledge) straight?
_____1)all
_____2)most
_____3)more than half
_____4)about half
_____5)less than half
_____6)only a few
_____7)none

13. At the present time, how many close relationships do you have with heterosexuals? (Other than family members.)
_____1)many
_____2)some
_____3)very few
_____4)none

14. At the present time, how socially active are you in heterosexual circles?
_____1)very active
_____2)somewhat active
_____3)not too active
_____4)not active at all

15. a) Do you belong to any gay clubs or organizations?
_____1)yes _____2)no

b) Have you ever held office or served on committees of these organizations? _____1)yes _____2)no

16. Are you a member of GATE? _____1)yes _____2)no

17. About how often do you go out to gay bars or clubs?
_____1)once a week or more
_____2)two or three times a month
_____3)once a month
_____4)several times a year
_____5)less often
_____6)never

18. About how often do you have gay friends over to your place?
_____1)once a week or more
_____2)two or three times a month
_____3)once a month
_____4)several times a year
_____5)less often
_____6)never

19. About how often do you visit with gay friends at their homes?
_____1)once a week or more
_____2)two or three times a month
_____3)once a month
_____4)several times a year
_____5)less often
_____6)never

20. a) With whom are you living at the moment?
_____1)by yourself
_____2)with parent(s)
_____3)with gay roommate(s)
_____4)with straight roommate(s)
_____5)wife/husband
_____6)other

b) If with roommate, is your roommate also your lover?
_____1)yes _____2)no

21. What proportion of your leisure time socializing is with other gays?
_____1)most
_____2)more than half
_____3)about half
_____4)less than half
_____5)only a small amount
_____6)none

22. How many of your friends are gay?
_____1)all
_____2)most
_____3)more than half
_____4)about half
_____5)less than half
_____6)only a few
_____7)none

23. Although it may be difficult, please specify the number of people whom you consider to be your close friends. (For example, 0, 1, 2, 3, 4 . . .) _____. Of these, how many are gay? _____

24. Do you subscribe to or regularly read any gay newpapers, for example, The Advocate, The Body Politic? _____1)yes _____2)no

YOUR OPINION OF EACH OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS IS IMPORTANT WHETHER YOU HAVE THOUGHT ABOUT THEM BEFORE OR NOT. PLEASE INDICATE BY CHECKING THE APPROPRIATE LINE WHETHER YOU STRONGLY AGREE, AGREE, ARE UNCERTAIN, DISAGREE, OR STRONGLY DISAGREE WITH EACH OF THE STATEMENTS

	Strongly Agree (1)	Agree (2)	Uncertain (3)	Disagree (4)	Strongly Disagree (5)
25. I feel that I have a number of good qualities					
26. Successful people do their best to prevent others from being successful too.					
27. Many male homosexuals are psychologically disturbed.					
28. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.					
29. I feel that nobody really understands me.					
30. People seem to change from day to day in the way they treat me.					
31. I am so restless that I cannot sit in a chair for very long.					
32. I believe the society we live in is pretty good the way it is.					
33. I would make a lot of changes in the laws of this country if I could.					
34. On the whole I am satisfied with myself.					
35. If others hadn't prevented me I would be far better off than I am now.					

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
36. I feel that I am somewhat apart from the people around me.					
37. I regret the decisions I have made.					
38. The world is a dangerous place full of evil men and women.					
39. I take a positive attitude toward myself.					
40. I wish I could have more respect for myself.					
41. I certainly feel useless at times.					
42. Homosexuals are usually superior in many ways to non-homosexuals.					
43. Straight people are cold to me.					
44. Straight people laugh at me.					
45. I am probably responsible for the fact that I am gay.					
46. Straight people gossip about me.					
47. Gays and straights are basically different in more ways than simply sexual preference.					
48. There is not much I can do about most of the important problems we face in the world today.					
49. I often feel lonely.					
50. Things have become so complicated in the world today that I really don't know what is going on.					
51. I have noticed that straight people wink, shrug, or nudge at one another about me.					
52. Straight people act as though they were better than me.					
53. Straight people refer to me as being odd or strange.					
54. I wish I were not gay.					
55. I would not want to give up my homosexuality, even if I could.					
56. I feel "closer" to a heterosexual of my own social class, than to a homosexual of a much lower social class.					

FOR EACH OF THE FOLLOWING ITEMS PLEASE CHECK THE ANSWER THAT BEST DESCRIBES YOUR SITUATION OR OPINION

57. Do any of the following people know or suspect that you are gay? (If your mother or father is deceased, please check whether they did know or suspect.)

	Definitely knows (1)	Probably suspects (2)	Does not seem to suspect (3)	Have no such Relationship (4)
Your mother	_____	_____	_____	_____
Your father	_____	_____	_____	_____
Brother(s)	_____	_____	_____	_____
Sister(s)	_____	_____	_____	_____
Best heterosexual friend of same sex	_____	_____	_____	_____
Best heterosexual friend of opposite sex	_____	_____	_____	_____
Your employer	_____	_____	_____	_____
Wife/Husband	_____	_____	_____	_____

58. How do you think each of the following persons would react (or has reacted) to finding out that you are gay? [write the number (from the list below) that best describes how you think each of the following would react (or has reacted)]

1. Accepting (it would not matter)
2. Understanding (but not accepting)
3. Tolerant (but not understanding)
4. Intolerant (but not rejecting)
5. Rejecting
6. Not Applicable (have no such relationship)

_____ Your mother
_____ Your father
_____ Brother(s)
_____ Sister(s)
_____ Best heterosexual friend of the same sex
_____ Best heterosexual friend of the opposite sex
_____ Your employer
_____ Wife/Husband
_____ Most of your work associates

59. How do you think most people feel about homosexuals?
_____1)They feel disgusted or repelled by homosexuals.
_____2)They dislike homosexuals.
_____3)They have a "live and let live" attitude toward homosexuals.
_____4)They have some liking for homosexuals.

60. Do you think people are likely to make life more difficult for persons they suspect are gay?
_____1)yes, most people would.
_____2)yes, many would.
_____3)yes, a few would.
_____4)no.

61. Do you think people are likely to break off social relations with someone, if they suspect he is gay?
_____1)yes, most people would
_____2)yes, many people would
_____3)yes, a few would
_____4)no

62. Does knowing you are gay "weigh on your mind" (make you feel guilty, depressed, anxious, or ashamed)?
_____1)not at all
_____2)not very much
_____3)somewhat
_____4)a great deal

BELOW ARE THREE SITUATIONS. PLEASE CHECK THE ANSWER THAT BEST DESCRIBES HOW YOU HAVE ACTED, OR WOULD ACT, IN EACH SITUATION.

63. a) With reference to my close straight friends . . .
_____1)I have told them nothing about my sexual preferences.
_____2)I have talked to them in general terms about my sexual preferences. They have only a general idea about them.
_____3)I have talked in full and complete detail with them about my sexual preferences.
_____4)I have lied or misrepresented my sexual preferences to them so that they have a false picture of me.

b) With reference to my family . . .
_____1)I have told them nothing about my sexual preferences.
_____2)I have talked to them in general terms about my sexual preferences. They have only a general idea about them.
_____3)I have talked in full and complete detail with them about my sexual preferences.
_____4)I have lied or misrepresented my sexual preferences to them so that they have a false picture of me.

c) With reference to my present employer (or future employer . . .
_____1)I have told him nothing about my sexual preferences.
_____2)I have talked to him in general terms about my sexual preferences. He has only a general idea about them.
_____3)I have talked in full and complete detail with him about my sexual preferences.
_____4)I have lied or misrepresented my sexual preferences to him so that he has a false picture of me.

FOR EACH OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS PLACE A CHECK IN THE PLACE WHICH BEST DESCRIBES YOUR OPINION

	Strongly Agree (1)	Agree (2)	Uncertain (3)	Disagree (4)	Strongly Disagree (5)
64. I have noticed that straight people give me the "once over".	:____	:____	:____	:____	:____:
65. Straight people call me names such as fairy or queer.	:____	:____	:____	:____	:____:

	(1) Strongly Agree	(2) Agree	(3) Uncertain	(4) Disagree	(5) Strongly Disagree
66. I feel that I don't belong anywhere.					
67. At times I think that I am no good at all.					
68. I let myself go when I am angry.					
69. I wish I could be as happy as others.					
70. I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.					
71. I feel that I do not have much to be proud of.					
72. If I could live my life over again, I would prefer to live it straight.					
73. Most of the time I am glad I am gay.					
74. I do not like to associate socially with a person who has a reputation (among heterosexuals) for being gay.					
75. I don't really enjoy most of the work that I do, but I feel that I must do it in order to have the other things I want and need.					
76. I am not much interested in the TV programs, movies, or magazines that most people seem to like.					
77. I am almost always aware that I am gay.					
78. The actions of a small minority of homosexuals give a bad name to all homosexuals.					
79. I am able to do things as well as most people.					
80. Life is a strain for me.					
81. I suddenly dislike something that I liked very much before.					
82. Many male homosexuals are easy to identify because of the way they walk, talk, or act.					
83. I am more nervous than most people.					
84. I have noticed that my ideas about myself seem to change very rapidly.					

	Strongly Agree. (1)	Agree (2)	Uncertain (3)	Disagree (4)	Strongly Disagree (5)
85. I feel that nothing or almost nothing, can change the opinion I currently hold of myself.					
86. Some days I have a very good opinion of myself; other days I have a very poor opinion of myself.					
87. The laws governing the people of this country are sound and need only minor changes if any.					
88. I am critical of the way our present society is organized.					

FOR EACH OF THE FOLLOWING ITEMS PLEASE CHECK THE ANSWER THAT BEST DESCRIBES YOUR SITUATION OR OPINION.

89. Taking all things together, how would you say things are these days? Would you say you're
_____1)very happy
_____2)pretty happy
_____3)not too happy

90. In general, how satisfying do you find the way you're spending your life these days?
_____1)completely satisfying
_____2)pretty satisfying
_____3)not very satisfying

91. a) About how old were you when you first became aware of any sexual feelings towards someone of the same sex? __________
b) About how old were you when you became aware you were gay?
____

92. Are you right-handed? _____1)yes _____2)no

93. Have you ever seen a psychiatrist about your homosexuality?
_____1)yes _____2)no

94. Do you think of yourself as:
_____1)more heterosexual than homosexual
_____2)equally heterosexual and homosexual
_____3)more homosexual than heterosexual
_____4)predominantly homosexual
_____5)totally homosexual

95. At present, are you
_____1)employed _____a)part-time _____b)full-time
_____2)unemployed
_____3)retired

96. Are you a student? _____1)yes _____2)no
If yes, _____a)part-time _____b)full-time

97. If employed,
a) How long have you been employed?
_____1)less than a year
_____2)1 to 3 years
_____3)3 to 10 years
_____4)more than 10 years

b) How long have you held your present job?
_____1)less than a year
_____2)1 to 3 years
_____3)more than 3 years

c) How many job changes have you made in the last 5 years? _____

98. If retired or not working please answer in terms of the work you used to do or usually do.

a) Are you employed in ___1)white collar work ___2)blue collar work?

b) What kind of work do you do for a living? (What is your job called? What is the type of the business or industry that employs you? For example, salesman in camera store.) _______
____

MALES ONLY

99. How often do you do any of the following?	very often (1)	often (2)	fairly often (3)	rarely (4)	very rarely (5)	Never (6)
a) use feminine names when referring to friends and acquaintances.	____	____	____	____	____	____
b) wear facial make-up	____	____	____	____	____	____
c) dress in women's clothing	____	____	____	____	____	____

100. About how often do you visit the baths?
_____1)once a week or more
_____2)two or three times a month
_____3)once a month
_____4)several times a year
_____5)less often
_____6)never

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If you have any comments about this questionnaire, or if there is anything you would like to add, please do so.

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS:

VITA

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PLACE OF BIRTH: Winnipeg, Manitoba

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POST SECONDARY EDUCATION AND DEGREES:

University of Winnipeg
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1966-1969 Bachelor of Arts

University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba
1970-1972 Master of Arts

University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
1972-1975

HONORS AND AWARDS

University of Manitoba Graduate Fellowship
University of Manitoba
1971-1972

Canada Council Doctoral Fellowship
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RELATED WORK EXPERIENCE

Teaching Assistant
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1970-1971

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Lecturer, Summer Session
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PUBLICATIONS

"The Significance of Significant Others" with E.D. Boldt and A. Percival, Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology (forthcoming)